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THE HISTORICAL DEVELOPMENT
OF THE
POSSESSIVE PRONOUNS

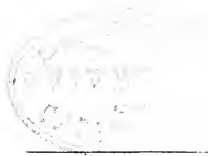
IN ITALIAN

DISSERTATION
PRESENTED TO THE BOARD OF UNIVERSITY STUDIES
OF THE JOHNS HOPKINS UNIVERSITY FOR THE
DEGREE OF DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

BY

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LATE FELLOW IN THE JOHNS HOPKINS UNIVERSITY



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TO
MY FATHER,
PROFESSOR EMIL MENDER,
CLINTON, MISSISSIPPI,

TO WHOSE SYMPATHY AND AID I AM LARGELY INDEBTED FOR
WHAT I MAY HAVE ACCOMPLISHED
IN MY STUDIES,

THIS MONOGRAPH IS AFFECTIONATELY DEDICATED.

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THE HISTORICAL DEVELOPMENT OF THE
POSSESSIVE PRONOUNS IN ITALIAN.

FROM THE MIDDLE OF THE THIRTEENTH TO THE END
OF THE SIXTEENTH CENTURY.

INTRODUCTION.

The Possessive Pronouns existing in literary Italian are :

<i>mio</i>	MEUM,	<i>mia</i>	MEAM,
<i>miei</i>	MEI,	<i>mie</i>	MEAE,
<i>tuo</i>	TUUM,	<i>tua</i>	TUAM,
<i>tuoi</i>	TUI,	<i>tue</i>	TUAE,
<i>suo</i>	SUUM,	<i>sua</i>	SUAM,
<i>suoi</i>	SUI,	<i>sue</i>	SUAE,
<i>nostro</i>	NOSTRUM,	<i>nostra</i>	NOSTRAM,
<i>nostri</i>	NOSTRI,	<i>nostre</i>	NOSTRAE,
<i>vostro</i>	VOSTRUM,	<i>vostra</i>	VOSTRAM,
<i>vostri</i>	VOSTRI,	<i>rostre</i>	VOSTRAE.

These literary forms, as given, are found in the earliest texts. But a mere casual reading of the texts will reveal also many variants; this makes evident the fact that a succession of stages or steps was gone through before the above forms were adopted

as the regular ones. The simplest method to be followed in discovering what these successive stages of development were must be to begin with the earliest texts in which the variants were sometimes the rule, and follow the occurrence of these variants in chronological order down into those texts in which they are exceptions; thus finally arriving at literary monuments in which no variants occur, but where they have been merged completely into the prevailing literary forms.

Such a study involves the investigation of one of the most interesting and difficult questions of Italian Philology; namely, the development of the Latin hiatus vowels *æ* and *u*.

In the course of a research carried on as just suggested are discovered irregular forms which appear and disappear without any apparent preceding stage, and leaving no successors on their disappearance. At a certain time in the history of the Italian language there is a frequent use of the anomalous *mia*, *tua*, *sua*; they are found with the plurals of masculine and feminine nouns alike. This is the sole marked irregularity in the use of plural Possessive Pronouns in Italian, and for a full understanding of the general subject of the pronoun in this language, the appearance of these abnormal forms must be accounted for.

The study thus divides itself into two parts: first, it must be determined what the irregular forms are; they must be explained and eliminated; then the development of the regular forms can be discovered. A division of the material within these limits is carried out in the following monograph. In Chapter I the irregular *mia*, *tua*, *sua*, and all irregular uses of the Possessive Pronouns connected with these forms, are considered. In Chapter II the regular developments are taken up which can be understood only when definite hiatus laws for *æ* and *u* have been established,—so that in this chapter (II), in addition to the Possessive Pronouns, all words in which these hiatus vowels occur are studied. When, from a consideration of all the phenomena, the laws of growth are discovered, these laws are applied to the development of the Possessive

Pronouns which are thus seen to evolve regularly and according to fixed principles from the Latin.

The following texts have been examined; they comprise the works of Tuscan authors for a period of three hundred years, from Guittone d'Arezzo (1250) to Torquato Tasso (1595). As it may be of interest to students of Italian to know where certain rare editions which are included in this Bibliography were found, I will state that all such works mentioned were consulted in the Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris. There also are to be found the works of the early Italian grammarians who will be quoted in the course of this monograph. The authors will be referred to hereafter as A, B, C, etc., according to the letter of the alphabet placed in front of their names.

A.—Guittone d'Arezzo: (In) *Rime di diversi antichi autori Toscani in dieci libri raccolte*. Venegia, 1532.

B.—Chiaro Davanzati: (In) *Collezione di Opere inedite o rare*. III, 1-177; 261-265; 387-389.

C.—Cino da Pistoja: *Le Rime di Messer Cino da Pistoja, ridotte a miglior lezione da Bindi e Fanfani*. Pistoja, 1878. Also in A.

D.—Riccomano Jacopi: *Libro della Tavola di Ric. Jac.*, edited by Carlo Vesme, (in) *Archivio Storico Italiano*, 3^a serie, Vol. XVIII (1873).

E.—Dante da Maiono: In A, pp. 74-90, 134, 138, 140, 141.

F.—Albertano di Brescia: *Volgarizzamento dei Trattati Morali di Albertano Giudice di Brescia*. Fatto innanzi al 1278. Trovato da S. Ciampi. Firenze, 1832.

G.—Ricordi di una Famiglia Senese del secolo decimoterzo (1231-1243). Pub. by G. Milanese in *Archiv. Stor. Ital.* Appendice, Vol. v. Firenze, 1847.

H.—Ranieri Sardo: *Cronaca Pisana di Ran. Sar.*, Dall' Anno 962 sino al 1400. Pub. by F. Bonaini in *Archiv. Stor. Ital.* Vol. VI, parte 2^a, pp. 73-244. Firenze, 1845.

I.—Fiore di filosofi e di molti savi, attribuito a Brunetto Latini. Testo in parte inedito, citato dalla Crusca, e ridotto a

miglior lezione da Antonio Cappelli. (In) Scelta di curiosità letterarie o rare, Vol. LXIII. Bologna, 1865.

J.—Lettere Volgari del secolo XIII, scritte da Senesi. Pub. by Paoli e Piccolomini in Scelta ecc., CXVI. Bologna, 1871.

K.—Dodici Conti Morali d'Anonimo Senese. Testo inedito del secolo XIII, pub. da Zambrini. Scelta ecc., IX. Bologna, 1862.

L.—Conti di Antichi Cavalieri. (In) Giornale Storico della Letteratura Italiana, Vol. III, pp. 192–217. Torino, 1884.

M.—Le ciento Novelle Antike. Bologna (Gualteruzzi), 1525.

N.—La Tavola Ritonda, o l'Istoria di Tristano. Pub. in two vols. by F.-L. Polidori in Collezione di Opere inedite o rare. Bologna, 1864.

O.—Guido Cavalcanti: Le Rime di Guid. Cav. Testo critico pubb. dal Prof. Nicola Arnone. Firenze, 1881. Also in A.

P.—Dante: Le Prime Quattro Edizione della Divina Commedia letteralmente ristampate per cura di G. J. Warren, Baron Vernon. Londra, 1858.

Q.—Petrarca: Rime di Pet. 2 vols. Padova, 1819.

R.—Jacopo di Pistoja: Statuti dell' Opera di S. Jacopo di Pistoja, volgarizzati l'anno MCCCXIII da Mazzeo di Ser Giovanni Bellebuoni, con due inventarj del 1340 e del 1401. Pubbl. da S. Ciampi. Pisa, 1814.

S.—Bindo Bonichi: Rime di Bind. Bon. da Siena. Scelta ecc., LXXXII. Bologna, 1867.

T.—Guido da Pisa: Il Libro chiamato Fiore d'Italia. Bologna, Oct. 25, 1490.

U.—Ricordi di Miliadusso Baldiccionede' Casalberti. Pubbl. da Bonaini e Polidori in Archiv. Stor. Ital. Appendice, Vol. VIII, pp. 17–71. (First record 1339, last 1382.) Firenze, 1850

V.—Boccaccio: (1) L'Amorosa Fiammetta di Messer Giovanni Boccaccio. Vinegia, 1575.—(2) Ameto, over Comedia delle Nimphe Fiorentine compilata da Messer Giov. Bocc. Venegia, 1534.—(3) Il Decamerone di Messer Giov. Bocc. Venetia, 1471.

W.—Giovanni Fiorentino: *Il Pecorone*. 2 vols. Milano, 1804.

X.—Fazio degli Uberti: *Opera di Faccio Degliuberti Fiorentino Chiamato Ditta Mundi*. Venetia, 1501.

Y.—Forestani: *Storia d'una Fanciulla Tradita da un suo Amante*. Di Messer Simone Forestani da Siena. Ed. da Zambrini. Scelta ecc., VI. Bologna, 1862.

Z.—Sercambi: *Novelle di Giovanni Sercambi*. Ed. da Alessandro d'Ancona. Scelta ecc., CXIX. Bologna, 1871.

AA.—Sacchetti: *Novelle*. 3 vols. Milano, 1804.

BB.—Zenone da Pistoja: *La Pietosa Fonte*. Ed. da Zambrini. Scelta ecc., CXXXVII. Bologna, 1874.

CC.—Lamenti Storici dei secoli XIV, XV e XVI. Raccolti di Medin e Frati. Scelta ecc., CCXIX. Bologna, 1887.

DD.—I Cantari di Carduino; giuntovi quello di Tristano e Lancielotto. Pubbl. per cura di Pio Rajna. Scelta ecc., CXXXV. Bologna, 1873.

EE.—Leon Battista Alberto: *Hecatompila* di Messer L. B. Alb. Vineggia, 1534.

FF.—Gambino d'Arezzo: *Versi*. Ed. da Gamurrini. Scelta ecc., CLXIV. Bologna, 1878.

GG.—Pulci: *I Fatti di Carlo-magno e de' suoi Paladani*. Opere del Morgante. Date in luce per Pulci. Venetia, 1481.

HH.—Poliziano: *Stanze, l'Orfeo ed altre Poesie*. Milano, 1808.

II.—Burcelo: *Li Soneti del Burcelo Fiorentino*. Veniegia, 1477.

JJ.—Lorenzo de' Medici: *Poesie*. Firenze, 1859.

KK.—Bojardo: *Orlando Innamorato* (Berni's Rifacimento). 4 vols. Milano, 1806.

LL.—Bernardo Bellincioni: *Rime*. Ed. da Fanfani. Scelta ecc., CLI. Bologna, 1876.

MM.—Benvenuto Cellini: *Opere*. 3 vols. Milano, 1806.

NN.—Ariosto: *Orlando Furioso*. 5 vols. Milano, 1812.

OO.—Machiavelli: *Opere*. Milano, 1804. Vol. I, *Il Principe*; Vol. VIII, *Commedie*.

PP.—Pietro Bembo : Opere. Milano, 1808. Vol. I, Gli Asolani.

QQ.—Trissino : Opere. Verona, 1729.

RR.—Leonardo Salviati : Opere. Milano, 1809. Vol. I, Commedie.

SS.—Torquato Tasso : Il Goffredo. Vinegia, 1580.

TT.—Batecchio, Commedia di Maggio. Composto per il Pellegrino Ingegno del Fumoso della Congrega de' Rozzi. Scelta ecc., CXXII. Bologna, 1871.

UU.—Giosuè Carducci : Studi Letterari. Livorno, 1874.

CHAPTER I.

IRREGULAR FORMS OF THE POSSESSIVE PRONOUNS WITH ESPECIAL REFERENCE TO THE TWO-GENDER PLURALS *mia*, *tua*, *sua*.

1. *Collection of all irregular uses in texts examined.*

I do not hold the opinion that irregularities which occur in the singular had anything to do with corresponding ones in the plural ; that, for instance, *mia* in *mia cavallo* (supposing such an example to exist) had anything in common with *mia* in *mia cavalli*. But such an opinion has been expressed. Schuchardt, in writing of a kindred topic, says :¹ “Gelegentlich der Formen *mia*, *tua*, *sua*, möchte ich hier eine Frage vorbringen die allerdings mit der Hauptfrage Nichts zu thun hat. Ich finde überall nur von ihrer pluralischen Verwendung gesprochen ; ich habe mir aber vor fast einem Vierteljahrhundert in Rom, allerdings nicht aus gehörter Rede, und auch nicht aus Belli, sondern aus andern Schriften in römischer Mundart Fälle wie *fijo mia*, *er nome sua*, *a commido sua*, *lo sposo mia*, u. s. w. aufgezeichnet. Kommt nun Solches wirklich in der Volkssprache vor ? ”

¹*Literaturblatt*, Dec., 1891, col. 413.

Now, to ascertain the truth of the connection, if any exist, between singular and plural irregularities of the kind under discussion, I have noted all irregular uses occurring in the singular as well as in the plural and treated them in the first part of this essay, where I have attempted explanations of them. I then show that these irregularities in the singular cannot be the origin of like irregularities in the plural, nor those in the plural the origin of corresponding forms in the singular. My plan is to mention in chronological sequence all the texts I have consulted giving the irregularities in the following order :

First Person,	Masc. Sing.	Fem. Sing.
“	“ Plu.	“ Plu.
Second Person,	“ Sing.	“ Sing.
“	“ Plu.	“ Plu.
Third Person,	“ Sing.	“ Sing.
“	“ Plu.	“ Plu.

The discussion of these pronouns is reserved until the full list of texts has been examined wherein all forms are omitted that are not concerned in the development of *mia*, *tua*, *sua*. (A few texts will be mentioned in which no irregularities occur, but these authors are given to show the extent of the occurrences in the period of time represented by the texts quoted as bearing directly on my subject.)¹

A.—In the few pages of this collection which contain the poetry of Guittone no irregularities occur.

B.—This author sometimes uses the atonic forms *mi'* (masc. and fem.) and *su'* (masc.).—*tuo* = *tuoi* : p. 68, *li tuo filgli*.—*suo* = *suoi* : p. 14, *li suo filgli* ; p. 167, *i suo sembianti*.

C.—*mie'* = *miei* : p. 4, *occhj mie'*.—*tuo* = *tuoi* : p. 229, *de' tuo filgli*.—*suoi* = *sue* : p. 81, *In quelle parti, che furon già suoi*.

D.—*suo'* = *suoi* : p. 1, *suo' santi*.

¹*Nostro*, etc., *vostro*, etc., are directly from *NOSTRUM*, etc., *VOSTRUM*, etc., with no intervening stage in the development, and they will therefore not be mentioned again.

E.—No irregularities.

F.—*tu'* = *tuo* : p. 10, *tu' viaggio*.—*tuo* = *tua* : p. 51, *la tuo volontà*.—*tuo'* = *tuoi* : p. 6, *i tuo' facti* ; p. 47, *li vecchi tuo'* ; p. 65, *tuo' aversarii* ; p. 66, *tuo' nemici* ; p. 73, *tuo' consigli*.—*tuoi* = *tue* : pp. 15, 27, *le tuoi parole*.—*su'* = *suo* : p. 36, *su' abitato*.—*suo'* = *suoi* : p. 19, *li suo' capelli*.—*suoi* = *sue* : p. 76, *per suoi parole*.

G.—No irregularities.

H.—*su'* = *sua* : p. 161, *colla su' arme*.—*suoi* = *sue* : p. 84, *le suoi rughe* ; p. 86, *le suoi intrate*, *le suoi castella* ; p. 94, *le suoi genti* ; p. 95, *a suoi spese* ; p. 114, *di suoi cose*.

I.—No irregularities.

J.—No irregularities.

K.—No irregularities.

L.—*mei* = *miei*, p. 211.—*suoi* = *sue* : p. 205, *le cose suoi*.—*suoe* = *sue* : p. 208, *ossa suoe*.

M.—No irregularities.

N.—*mie'* = *mia* : pp. 479, 486, 487, *per mie' fè*.—*suo'* = *suoi* : p. 78, *suo' baroni* ; p. 284, *suo' fratelli* ; p. 324, *suo' figli*.

O.—*mi'* = *mio* : p. 24, *mi' parere* ; p. 43, *mi' core*.—*mie* = *mio* : p. 65, *mie spirito* (variant).—*tu'* = *tuo* : pp. 14, 61, *tu' pensiero* ; p. 71, *tu' amore*.—*su'* = *suo* : p. 15, *su' riso* ; p. 16, *su' valore* ; p. 18, *su' viso*, etc., *su'* thus occurring sixteen times.—*suo* = *sua* : p. 4, *suo virtù e suo potenza* (variant).—*mie'* = *miei* : p. 64, *mie' martiri* ; p. 74, *mie' foll occhi*. One of the manuscripts from which variants are given (Laurent. B. xv cent.) reads *mia* in the following cases where the editor has adopted *miei* for the published text : pp. 20, 26, *occhi mia* ; pp. 35, 48, *mia spiriti* ; p. 64, *mia desiri*. Several other variants read *mei* in these instances.

P.—*mei* = *miei* : Inf. I, 23, *parenti mei* ; XIV, 6 ; XXXI, 33, *occhi mei* ; XXVI, 41, *mei compagni* ; Purg. I, 6, 29 ; IV, 29 ; X, 39 ; XXI, 42 ; XXIV, 34, *occhi mei* ; I, 38, *mei passi* ; III, 41, *peccati mei* ; XVII, 4, *mei compassi* ; XXXI, 5, *frati mei* ; XXVII, 23, *mei saggi* ; XXVIII, 20, *prieghi mei* ; Par. XVII, 37, *mei carmi* ; XXIII, 27 ; XXVI, 38 ; XXVII, 4 ; XXX, 25 ; XXXI,

47, *occhi mei*.—*mie* = *miei*: Inf. x, 28, *mie popoli*; xv, 32, *orecchie mie*; xviii, 14; xxv, 49, *occhi mie*; xxvi, 41, *mie compagni*; xxxiii, 13, *mie figliuoli*; Purg. i, 6; viii, 29; x, 39, *occhi mie*; i, 38; xxv, 42, *mie passi*; xi, 21, *mie maggiori*; xiii, 38, *mie anni*; xxiv, 48, *mie dottori*; xxx, 47, *prieghi mie*; xxxi, 8, *mie desiri*; Par. xiv, 26, 28, *occhi mie*; iv, 3, *mie dubi*; xvi, 10, *mie blandimenti*; xvi, 15, *mie maggiori*; xvii, 37, *mie carmi*; xxiv, 20, *mie concepti*; xvii, 29, *mie piedi*.—*toi* = *tuoi*: Inf. xx, 34, *toi ragionamenti*; xxii, 11, *toi concepti*.—*tui* = *tuoi*: Inf. x, 14, *maggior tui*.—*tuo* = *tuoi*: Inf. v, 39, *tuo marriti*; xxvi, 2, *tuo cittadini*; xxx, 40, *tuo fratelli*; Purg. i, 28, *tuo regni*; vi, 37, *tuo gentili*; xi, 47, *tuo vicini*; xiii, 7, *tuo raggi*; Par. xi, 7, *tuo pensieri*; xxi, 6, *occhi tuo*; xxviii, 20, *tuo diti*.—*tuoe* = *tue*: Inf. ii, 46, *parole tuoe*.—*soi* = *suoi*: Inf. i, 19, *soi pensier*; ix, 38, *soi termini*; xi, 14, *soi beni*; xix, 11, *soi conforti*; xix, 12, *soi torti*; xxiii, 18, *soi pie*; xxix, 14, *soi conversi*; Purg. iv, 41, *atti soi*; vii, 44; xxvii, 42; xxi, 37, *occhi soi*; Par. xv, 12, *occhi soi*.—*sui* = *suoi*: Inf. ii, 26, *cerchi sui*; iii, 21, *inimici sui*; ix, *corpi sui*.—*suo* = *suoi*: Inf. iv, 20, *suo nati*; xix, 11, *suo conforti*; Purg. i, 12, *suo capelli*; iii, 6; vi, 19, *suo raggi*; xxi, 12, *suo pie*; xxvii, 18, *occhi suo*; xxvii, 36, *suo belli occhi*; xxix, 4, *suo passi*; Par. xvi, 20, *suo figli*; xx, 3, *suo dieci-*; xxiii, 1, *suo nati*; xxxi, 23, *suo meriti*; xxxii, 2, *suo piedi*.—*suoe* = *sue*: Inf. xiii, 34, *suoe spalle*.—*suo* = *sue*: Inf. xiv, 12, *suo schieri*; Purg. iv, 7, *suo spine*; ix, 13, *suo braccia*; xxviii, 9, *suo picciol onde*; Par. vii, 37, *le suo vie*. A variant to Purg. ix, 13, reads *le sua braccia*.

Q.—*mie'* = *miei*: i, 162, *mie' affanni*; ii, 196, *mie' ingegni*; *mie' arti*.—*tuo'* = *tuoi*: ii, 12, *tuo' ingegni*; ii, 144, *tuo' piedi*.—*suo'* = *suoi*: i, 35, *suo' laudi*; ii, 176, *suo' argomenti*.

R.—*miei* = *mie*: p. 2, *alle miei mani*.

S.—*tuo* = *tua*: p. 201, *la tuo derrata*.—*tuo'* = *tuoi*: p. 185, *tuo' scalzi*.—*su'* = *suo*: p. 174, *su' or*.—*su'* = *sua*: p. 1, *su' arte*.—*sua* = *suoi*: p. 42, *sua fatti* (variant).

T.—*mei* = *miei* occurs twenty times.

U.—*mio* = *mia*: pp. 29, 30, *metà mio* (on both pages occurs also *metà mia*).—*miee* = *mie*: p. 25, *nipote miee*.—*sue* = *sue*: p. 63, *suee spesie*.

V.—*Fiammetta*. *mei* = *miei*: p. 23, *mei conforti*; p. 138, *mei danni*.—*mie* = *miei*: p. 136, *mie desiderì*.—*tuo* = *tuoi*: p. 32, *tuo sudditi*.—*suo* = *suoi*: p. 43, *suo homeri*.

Ameto. *mie* = *miei*: p. 8, *mie aspetti*.—*mei* = *miei*: p. 31, *desiderij mei*.—*tuo* = *tuoi*: p. 24, *tuo versi*.—*suo* = *suoi*: p. 42, *suo frutti*; p. 78, *suo compagni*.—*sua* = *sue*: p. 56, *le sua corna*; p. 57, *le labra sua*.

Decamerone. *mei* = *miei* occurs eleven times.—*miei* = *mie*: Lbj 3,¹ *le miei novelle*.—*tuoe* = *tue*: Yiiij, *tuoe nocte*, *tuoe promissioni*.—*suo* = *suoi*: Cb, *suo discendenti*; H, *suo officiali*.—*sue* = *sue*: Zb, *sue robe*.

W.—No irregularities.

X.—*mie* = *mia*: giiij 8, *la mie speranza*; qiiij 2, *la mie guida*.—*mi* = *mia*: hiiij, *mi voglia*.—*mie* = *miei* occurs seven times (cf. aiiij 6, bij, eij, fij, giiij, kij, 9iiij 8), and *mei* = *miei* twenty-two times (cf. Aiiij 7, Bj, ciiij, diij 9, etc.).—*miei* = *mie*: eiiij 2, *le miei confine*; iiiij 2; kj, *le miei gente*; kij, *limagine miei*; Eiiij, siiij 4, *le parole miei*; t, *le miei guide*.—*me* = *miei*: eiiij, *i me danni*.—*me* = *mie*: diij 6, *le me ziglia*.—*tuo* = *tuoi*: C, *tuo brevi prologi*.—*sue* = *suo*: fij, *al sue desio*; Oiiij 8, *el sue nome*; ciiij, *el sue grembo*.—*sua* = *suo*: giiij, *per sua dardano*; Dj, *el maschio sua*.—*suo* = *suoi* occurs twenty-four times (cf. diij, eij, fiiij, hj, etc.).—*sue* = *sua*: diij 2, *la sue spoglia*; hiiij 6, *la sue lucie*; &iiij 2, *la sue virtu*.—*suo* = *sua*: giiij 6, *ogne suo virtu*; hiiij, *la suo matricola*; miiij 2, *ogni suo empresa*; piiij 2, *suo arte*; piiij 8, *suo posta*; uiij 3, *suo giorno*; 9j, *suo pincerna*; Biiij 7, *la suo tromba*.—*suoi* = *sue*: siiij 3, *le suoi schiumi*; tij, *le suoi confini*; z, *suoi pendice*.—*suo* = *sue*: diij 6, *le suo porti*; tiij, *le bataglie suo*; fiiij, *le suo*

¹ In looking for this reference it will be necessary to count three pages forward from the folio lettered Lbj. This system is observed in giving references to all editions divided according to folios.

sorte; *niij*, *le suo arte*; *piij* 7, *qij*, *le suo cose*; *qj*, *le suo ripe*; *sij*, *le suo parole*; *tij* 6, *le suo rene*; *9ij* 6, *le sorelle suo*.

Y.—*mie'* = *miei*: p. 35, *passi mie'*; p. 42, *i mie' giorni*.—*tuo* = *tuoi*: p. 44, *tuo' paesi*.

Z.—*miei* = *mie*: p. 109, *de' miei robe*; p. 240, *le miei brigate*.—*tuoi* = *tue*: p. 240, *dell' opere tuoi*; p. 98, *tuoi gioie*.—*suoi* = *sue*: p. 11, *suoi gare*; p. 169, *le suoi ingiurie*; p. 170, *le suoi infinite (cose)*; p. 84, *le suoi figliuole*; p. 176, *le suoi scritture*; p. 228, *le suoi terre*; p. 260, *le suoi genti*; p. 260, *le suoi brigate*.

AA.—*mie'* = *miei*: II, 13, *mie' di*; II, 211, *mie' signori*.—*mia* = *miei*: I, 139, *li fatti mia*; II, 248, *certi mia fatti*; III, 179, *a mia parenti*.—*mia* = *mie*: II, 77, *le mia forme*; III, 6, *mia dipinture*; III, 217, *le carni mia*.—*tuo'* = *tuoi*: II, 122, *con tuo' strufinacci*.—*suo'* = *suoi*: I, 76, *suo' parenti*; I, 77, *suo' vicini*; I, 198, *suo' dazj*; III, 185, *suo' pari*; III, 336, *suo' casi*.—*sua* = *suoi*: I, 6, *sudditi sua*; I, 124, *sua cavalli*; I, 200, *sua fatti*; III, 251, *sua panni*.—*sua* = *sue*: II, 98, *le carne sua*.

BB.—*mie'* = *miei*: p. 55, *e' mie' chiovi*.—*tuo* = *tua*: p. 6, *la tuo moneta*; p. 39, *tuo misericordia*; p. 71, *la tuo gran cortesia*; p. 60, *la tuo mente*; p. 81, *la tuo beatrice*.—*tuo* = *tuoi*: p. 59, *tuo disii*.—*suo'* = *suoi*: p. 35, *di suo' guai*; p. 70, *ne suo' versi*.—*su'* = *sua*: p. 16, *la su' arte*.—*suo* = *sua*: p. 4, *suo ira*; p. 53, *suo possa*; pp. 45, 85, 88, *la suo vita*; p. 79, *la suo ghirlanda*; p. 68, *la suo gran chiarezza*; p. 71, *la suo vista*; p. 80, *la suo luce*; p. 86, *suo partenza*; p. 89, *suo volonta*; p. 89, *suo bocca*; p. 90, *suo bilancia*.—*suo* = *sue*: p. 83, *suo cose*.

CC.—*tuo'* = *tuoi*: p. 266, *li tuo' dolci occhi*.

DD.—*mie* = *mio*: pp. 5, 12, *mie padre*.—*mie* = *mia*: pp. 14, 26, *mie madre*; p. 17, *mie sorella*; p. 49, *mie vita*; p. 52, *mie leanza*; p. 59, *mie spada*.—*tuo* = *tua*: p. 13, *tuo nazione*, *tuo madre*, *tuo condizione*; p. 18, *tuo sorella*; pp. 32, 58, *tuo bontade*; p. 52, *tuo contrada*; p. 54, *tuo presenza*; pp. 58, 62, *tuo vita*; p. 61, *tuo posanza*.—*suo* = *sua*: p. 4, *suo gente*; p.

12, *suo baronia, suo madre*; p. 17, *suo arte*; p. 20, *suo corte*; p. 25, *suo virtute*; p. 35, *suo gara*; p. 43, *suo ciera*; p. 51, *suo parte*; p. 54, *suo via*; p. 61, *suo spada*.—*suo* = *suoi*: p. 13, *suo fratei*; p. 14, *suo baroni*.—*suo* = *sue*: p. 9, *suo gioie*; p. 17, *suo voglie*.

EE.—*mei* = *miei*: p. 2, *mei amori*; p. 3, *mei errori*; p. 15, *mei sospiri*; p. 16, *mei pensieri*; p. 21, *mei mali*; p. 27, *amici mei*.—*tuo* = *tuoi*: p. 6, *tuo doni*.—*suo* = *suoi*: p. 26, *suo crucci*.

FF.—*mi'* = *mio*: p. 173, *al mi' ingegno*.—*mie'* = *miei*: p. 2, *mie' pensieri*; p. 20, *mie' mirti*; p. 89, *mie' toscani*; p. 180, *mie' martiri*.—*su'* = *sua*: p. 29, *la su' razza*.—*suo'* = *suoi*: p. 68, *suo' gesti*.—*su'* = *sue*: p. 20, *tutte su' piaghe*.

GG.—*mei* = *miei*: fo. e 4, *mei compagni*.—*mie* = *miei*: fo. a 3, *mie fratelli*.—*tuo* = *tua*: fo. i 3, *ogni cosa sia tuo*; fo. a 4, *tuo vilania*.—*tua* = *tue*: fo. d, *alle tua mura*.—*suo* = *sua*: fo. a 4, *suo coda*.—*suo* = *suoi*: fo. b 1, *suo fratei*: fo. e 2, *suo baroni*; fo. e 4, *suo tradimenti*; fo. i 3, *suo suggesti*.

HH.—*mie'* = *miei*: I, 6, *mie' versi*.

II.—*mie* = *mio*: fo. eq 6, *un mie sonetto*.—*mei* = *miei*: fo. cq, *mei occhi*; *spiriti mei*; fo. diij, *signor mei*; fo. dq 2, *tutti i mei*; fo. g, *parenti mei*; fo. r, *occhi mei*; fo. gq 9, *mei amici*.—*mie* = *miei*: fo. hq 5, *mie detti*.—*mia* = *mie*: fo. bq 6, *le parole mia*.—*tuo* = *tuoi*: fo. gz, *tuo belli occhi*.—*tua* = *tuoi*: fo. eq 8, *tua sciochi*.—*suo* = *suoi*: fo. c, *suo fior*; *suo greci*.—*sua* = *suoi*: fo. dq, *sua panni*.—*sua* = *sue*: fo. fq 6, *le sua alia*.

JJ.—*mie'* = *miei*: p. 241, *mie' giovenchi*.—*mei* = *miei*: p. 133, *i pensier mei*.—*mia* = *miei*: p. 118, *a' pianti mia*; p. 70, *occhi stanchi mia*; p. 244, *de' fatti mia*.—*mia* = *mie*: p. 372, *le membra mia*.—*tuo'* = *tuoi*: p. 239, *tuo' pagliai*; p. 249, *tuo' begli occhi*; p. 361, *tuo' prieghi*; p. 377, *tuo' fratelli*.—*tua* = *tuoi*: p. 255, *i colpi tua*.—*tua* = *tue*: p. 241, *le tua bestie*.—*suo'* = *suoi*: p. 302, *suo' anni*.—*suo'* = *sue*: p. 292, *suo' foglie*.

KK.—*mia* = *mio*: XII, 66, *alcun tempo mia* (rhyme).—*mei* = *miei*: LIII, 18, *mei baroni*.—*tu'* = *tuoi*: XXVII, 37, *de' tu' occhi*.

LL.—*mia* = *mie*: p. 38, *ossa mia*.

MM.—*mia* = *miei*: I, 12, 203, 222, 426; II, 127, 159, 362, *i casi mia*; I, 39, 60, 60, 72, 349, 354, 363; II, 198, 295, 296, 300, 413, 308, 379, *i mia danari*; I, 43, 44, 46; II, 71, *avversarj mia*; I, 54; II, 202, *mia pari*; I, 54; II, 195, 303, 317, *mia disegni*; I, 60; II, 295, *mia scudi*; I, 62, *mia affari*; I, 62; II, 12, 491, *mia figliuoli*; I, 83, *studj mia*; II, 380, *mia studj*; II, 478, *mia danni*; I, 393; II, 299, *mia dispiaceri*; I, 327, 392, *mia ferruzzi*; I, 254, 293, 385, *nemici mia*; I, 204, 236, 383, 396; II, 108, 167, 191, 248, *fatti mia*; I, 434, 438; II, 307, *mia occhi*; I, 422; II, 110, *mia libri*; I, 422, *mia uomini*; I, 164, 232, 236, 261, 262, 263, 386, *mia nemici*; I, 384, 384, 385, 415; II, 56, 113, 400, *mia servitori*; I, 99, *mia acciari*; I, 115, 252, 253, 288, 300, 307, 310, 312, 317, 353, 363, 400, 410, 413; II, 132, 233, *mia amici*; I, 132, *mia soffioni*; I, 190, *mia affanni*; I, 194, 460; II, 31, 68, 100, 170, 195, 279, 292, 349, *mia lavoranti*; I, 287, *mia ferri*; I, 295, *mia scoppietti*; I, 295, *mia modelletti*; I, 310, *mia piedi*; I, 315, *mia stivali*; I, 317; II, 147, *mia conoscenti*; I, 339, *mia Italiani*; I, 347, 350, 351, 358, 384; II, 20, 22, 23, 27, 56, 71, 112, 116, 120, *mia giovani*; I, 361, *mia cavalli*; I, 369, *signori mia*; II, 291, *signori mia*; II, 97, 274, *mia travagli*; II, 114, *occhi mia*; II, 124, *mia fatti*; II, 154, 356, *mia salarj*; II, 162, *mia spiriti*; II, 178, *mia compagni*; II, 181, *mia ribaldi*; II, 193, 234, *mia bisogni*; II, 199, *mia pensieri*; II, 202, *pari mia*; II, 211, *mia allevati*; II, 282, *mia panni*; II, 285, *mia piatti*; II, 286, *mia conati*; II, 319, 320, *mia bastoni*; II, 367, *mia anni*; II, 379, *mia ajuti*; II, 452, *mia debitori*; *mia eredi*.

mia = *mie*: I, 25, *mia belle*; *mia sorelle*; I, 338, *cose mia*; I, 390, *mia lenzuole*; II, 73, *mia teste*; II, 74, *mia forme*; II, 125, *mia mani*; II, 274, *mia nepotine*.

tua = *tuoi*: I, 24, *figliuoli tua*; I, 29, *tua disegni*; I, 60, *tua scudi*; I, 218, *fatti tua*; I, 251, *casi tua*; II, 481, *tua bisogni*; II, 482, *tua piaceri*.

sua = *suoi*: I, 63, *sua atti*; I, 68, 394, 403, 404, *sua gentiluomini*; I, 97, 253, *sua amici*; I, 112, *sua capitani*; I, 156, *sua affanni*; *sua scritti*; I, 271, *casi sua*; I, 284, *sua ferri*;

I, 305, *bisogni sua*; I, 173, 220; II, 234, *sua danari*; I, 217, *sua birreschi*; I, 220; II, 295, *sua scudi*; I, 331, *sua domestici*; I, 302, *ornamenti sua*; I, 368, *sua caporali*; I, 370, *sua regni*; I, 379, *vizj sua*; I, 388, *medici sua*; I, 388, 403, 439, 448, *sua servitori*; I, 390, *tutti i sua*; I, 412, *amici sua*; I, 452, *segreti sua*; II, 377, *sua piedi*; II, 394, *sua lavoranti*; II, 442, *sua eredi*; II, 12, 461, *sua figliuoli*; II, 44, 377, *sua cortigiani*; II, 57, *sua ribaldj*; II, 303, *sua segretarj*; II, 117, 117, *nemici sua*; II, 169, *tempi sua*; II, 202, *sua pari*; II, 445, *sua vocaboli*; II, 486, *sua confini*; III, 238, *sua squadratori*; III, 248, 248, *sua modelli*.

sua = *sue*: I, 256, *cose sua*; II, 30, *lettere sua*; II, 109, *facende sua*.

NN.—*mie'* = *miei*: v, 27, *li mie' uguali*; XXXVIII, 84, *mie' figli*.—*toi* = *tuoi*: XXXV, 43, *toi prigion* (variant).—*tuo'* = *tuoi*: XXIII, 73, *tuo' vestigi*; XXXVIII, 63, *tuo' infiniti*. (A variant reads here *tui*).—*suo'* = *suoi*: XXV, 49, *suo' begli occhi* (variant); XXV, 5, *suo' amici* (var.); XXXIX, 33, *suo' amici* (as a variant to this appears *sua*); XXXI, 82, *suo' amici*; XLI, 49, *suo' amori*.—*sui* = *suoi*: IV, *occhi sui*; XVII, 114, *cavalieri sui*; XVIII, 153, *tutti i sui*; XXIII, 22; XXXVII, 36, *fratelli sui*; XXXI, 35, *cugin sui*; XXXIII, 18, *servitori sui*; XXXIV, 82, *fatti sui*; XLIV, 59, *affanni sui*; XLV, 44, *de' sui*.—*soi* = *suoi*: XXXIII, 124, *soi baroni*.

OO.—*mie'* = *miei*: p. 276, *mie' affanni*.—*mia* = *miei*: p. 257, *mia desiderj*; p. 257, *mia martiri*; p. 396, *pensier mia*.—*tuo'* = *tuoi*: p. 394, *tuo' accenti*.—*tua* = *tuoi*: p. 260, *tua conforti*; p. 393, *tua lumi*.

PP, QQ, RR, no irregularities.

SS.—*tuo* = *tua*: p. 8, *guerra tuo*.—*suo'* = *suoi*: p. 4, *suo' fanti*; p. 28, *suo' mali*; p. 43, *suo' error*; p. 52, *suo' casi*.—*su'* = *suoi*: p. 49, *de' su' offici*.

TT.—*mie* = *mio*: p. 63, *mie male*; p. 73, *un mie pari*; p. 78, *el mie martire*; p. 104, *mie padron*; *mie difetto*; p. 105, *mie canto*.—*mie* = *mia*: pp. 56, 64, 75, 85, *la mie manza*; p. 62, *mie vita*; p. 86, *mie dama*; p. 88, *mie persona*; p. 104,

mie moglie ; *mie colpa*.—*tuo* = *tua* : p. 58, *tuo bella manza* ; p. 85, *la tuo speranza* ; p. 87, *tuo voglia* ; pp. 92, 98, *tuo valentia* ; p. 96, *tuo moglie*.—*tuo* = *tue* : p. 87, *le tuo spalle*.—*suo* = *sua* : p. 63, *la suo vita*.—*suo*' = *suoi* : p. 88, *e' suo' fatti*.—*suo*' = *sue* : p. 76, *le suo' mercanzie*.

UU.—*mie*' = *mio* : p. 415, *un mie' sparvier* ; p. 427, *'l mie' sparvero* ; p. 428, *'l mie' diffetto* ; p. 437, *'l mie' amore*.—*mie*' = *mia* : p. 408, *mie' compagna* ; p. 437, *mie' donna*.—*tuo*' = *tua* : p. 435, *di tuo' biltate*.—*suo*' = *sua* : p. 428, *suo' tana* ; p. 436, *suo' pena*.—*suo*' = *sue* : p. 425, *di suo' penne* ; p. 442, *le suo' ali*.

Résumé.

The following Table gives a résumé of the examples of irregularities noted above. The capital letters refer to the authors, the numerals to the number of times a given irregularity occurs in the author mentioned. Where forms were printed with the apostrophe, these are placed first ; the corresponding form without the apostrophe to the right of that with it.

mi' = *mio*, B, O2, FF1.

mi' = *mia*, B.

mi = *mia*, X2.

me = *mici*, X1.

me = *mie*, X1.

tu' = *tuo*, F1, O2.

tu' = *tuoi*, KK1.

su' = *suo*, B, F1, O2, S1.

su' = *sua*, H1, S1, BB1, FF1.

su' = *suoi*, SS1.

su' = *sue*, FF1.

mie' = *mio*, UU4.

mie' = *mia*, N3, UU2.

mie = *mio*, O1, DD2, II1, TT6.

mie = *mia*, X2, DD6, TT6.

mio = *mia*, U2.

tuo' = *tua*, UU1.

tuo = *tua*, F1, S1, BB5,

DD11, GG2, SS1, TT6.

sue = *suo*, X3.

sua = *suo*, X2.

sue = *sua*, X3.

suo' = *sua*, UU2. *suo* = *sua*, O2, X8, BB11, DD11, GG1, TT1.

mei = *miei*, B1, L1, P22, T20, V14, X22, EE6, GG1, II8, JJ1, KK1.

mie' = *miei*, C1, O2, Q3, Y2, AA2, BB1, FF4, HH1, JJ1, NN2, OO1.

mie = *miei*, P25, V2, X7, GG1, II1.

tuo' = *tuoi*, F5, P10, Q2, S1, Y2, AA1, CC1, FF1, JJ4, NN2, OO1, TT1.

tuo = *tuoi*, B1, C1, V2, X1, BB1, EE1, II1.

suo' = *suoi*, D1, F1, N3, P14, Q2, AA5, BB2, FF1, JJ1, NN2, SS4, TT1.

suo = *suoi*, B2, V5, X24, DD2, EE1, GG4, II2.

miei = *mie*, R1, V1, X5, Z2.

tuoi = *tue*, F1, Z2.

suoi = *sue*, C1, F1, H6, L1, X3, Z8.

miee = *mie*, U1.

tuoe = *tue*, P1, V2.

suoe = *sue*, L1, P1, U1, V1.

tuo = *tue*, FF1.

suo' = *sue*, JJ1, TT1, UU2.

suo = *sue*, P6, X9, BB1, DD2.

mia = *miei*, O3, AA3, JJ3, MM157, OO3.

mia = *mie*, AA3, II1, JJ1, LL1, MM8.

tua = *tuoi*, II1, JJ1, MM7, OO2.

tua = *tue*, GG1, JJ1.

sua = *suoi*, S1, AA4, II1, MM51, NN1.

sua = *sue*, P1, V2, AA1, II1, MM3.

2. *Irregularities in the Singular discussed.*

If we view the irregularities occurring in the singular as a whole, three general reasons for them suggest themselves.

First, it is to be remarked that in the greater number of cases the masculine is used for the feminine form (cf. Table, *suo* = *sua*, *tuo* = *tua*, etc.). In the plural the feminine is never used for the masculine. When the indefinite *tuo*', *suo*', as used for masculine and feminine alike (cf. Table, *tuo* = *tuo*i and *tue*, *suo* = *suoi* and *sue*), take on again the full forms *tuo*i and *suoi* for the masculine, not only are the regular *tue*, *sue* not adopted for the feminine in all instances, but *tuo*i, *suoi* are used for feminine as well as masculine (the same remark applies to *miei*; cf. Table, *miei* = *mie*; *tuo*i = *tue*; *suoi* = *sue*). We may say then that *mio*, *tuo*, *suo*, are used for *mia*, *tua*, *sua* (and this use includes the largest part of the irregularities) and thus follow this seeming general tendency to adopt masculine for feminine.

Secondly, the irregularities may have arisen from a desire (on the part of the writer or speaker) to indicate the sex of the possessor by using the masculine or feminine pronoun with regard to the possessor and not to the gender of the object possessed. In DD, where the masculine form is so often used for both genders, the desire to differentiate sex may well be the reason for the masculine form, since, with few exceptions, the irregular possessives refer to characters of the male gender (Carduino, Tristano or Lanciellotto), there being few other personages mentioned. Thus, in speaking of Carduino's mother, the writer uses (p. 12) *suo madre*, corresponding to English "his mother," whereas, if he had referred to the heroine's mother, he would doubtless have said *sua madre*, "her mother."—Or, again, such a use might have arisen in constructions such as are found in H, cf. p. 114, *di suoi cose*, o *danari* o *panni*, where the objects implied in the *cose* (*panni* and *danari*) are both masculine and the speaker probably in anticipation of their gender used the masculine *suoi*.—Again, it would be

natural for irregularities to arise where there was a habit or separating the pronoun from its noun, as may be noted in S: p. 65, *guai a chi nel tormento, sua non puo spander voce*; p. 82, *molto ho cercato e suo non trovo nome*; p. 83, *et tua taci sentenza*.

Thirdly, an explanation that might apply to all irregularities of the kind under discussion would be to take as points of departure the remnants of the atonic forms *mi'*, *tu'*, *su'*, which are sometimes found in literary productions and are constantly used by the people. We may assume that when a consciousness was aroused of the incorrectness of certain pronominal uses terminational vowels were added (to *mi'*, *tu'*, *su'*), but the speaker, being unaccustomed to proper grammatical forms, added these vowels at random, and hence the confusion of genders.

Any one of these suggestions might explain, in a general way, the beginnings of abnormal forms, and once introduced, their use would naturally be extended; but I think the following statement will account for the origin of the peculiarities under discussion in a more satisfactory way.

mie = *mio* and *mia*; *mio* = *mia*.

In N, where the examples of *per mie' fè* were noted, the editor (Parodi) says the *mie'* is an abbreviation of the ancient **miea*. Where *mie'* is used as masculine, then, it was evidently in the mind of the writer that it was an abbreviation of **mieo*. The scholar Carducci had such a form in mind when he wrote the form with the apostrophe (cf. UU). In a discussion of these and other shortened forms one must suppose that the original was with an apostrophe; to think otherwise would be to become involved in inextricable difficulties. Thus *mie'* as an abbreviation of *mie-o* and *mie-a* would naturally be used for masculine and feminine alike.¹—An explanation of *mio* (= *mia*) follows here, for just as the abbreviated form *mie'* was used for both genders, so, when the regular *mio* was again

¹ Cf. p. 15.

adopted for the masculine, the difference in termination was sometimes overlooked, and we find it used occasionally for the feminine also. A speaker who had been accustomed to using *mie'* as an indifferent form for masculine or feminine would be likely to use the regular *mio* and *mia* indifferently also; we find *mia* used for *mio* only once, however, and then for the sake of the rhyme (cf. KK).

tuo = *tua*; *suo* = *sua*.

I think this use arose from a confusion with *tuo'*, *suo'*, as representing *tuoi*, *tue*,—*suoi*, *sue*. We find these forms, *tuo'*, *suo'* (written as often without as with the apostrophe) used promiscuously for masculine and feminine (*tuoe* and *suoe*, written in full, occur in L, P, U and V,—cf. Table). It is easily conceivable how such a form, used thus for three parts of the possessive,—the masculine singular and masculine and feminine plural,—should have been adopted for the fourth (the feminine singular). I am convinced that this supposition represents a highly probable mode of development of these abnormal constructions, for we find that in the same texts in which *tuo*, *suo* are used for one form of the possessive (the feminine singular, for example) they (*tuo*, *suo*) are also used for the other two forms, the masculine and feminine plural [cf. Table. In BB, DD, TT, X, for example, *suo* is thus equivalent to *suoi*, *sue* (under the form *suoe*) and *sua*].

sue = *suo* and *sua*; *sua* = *suo*.

These three irregularities are found in one and the same text (X)—a fact which indicates that they were peculiar to this author rather than in general use (contrary to the peculiar uses just noted which seem to have been quite widely diffused; cf. Table). This writer also used *mie* thus indiscriminately for masculine and feminine, and may have carried its last vowel, *-e*, to *sue*, or, since we have *suo* used for *sua* and *sue*, we expect an interchange in the opposite direction,

where *sue* is used for *sua* and *suo*.—I think any idea that this *suo* was a remnant of *suoē* was lost with the majority of writers, for we find it in many texts written without an apostrophe before masculine and feminine nouns alike. Thus used, there was evidently no consciousness of any correctness of termination, and one is not surprised to find it employed for all forms, nor, on the contrary, to see other forms substituted for it.

I do not claim that these suggestions are more than possible explanations of the *beginnings* of the irregular forms under discussion. No one would suppose that in the mind of the average speaker there was an idea of the existence of any etymological ground for the irregularity he was employing.

I have offered no phonetical explanation because I cannot conceive of one. The fact that masculine singular forms predominate does not necessarily indicate a disposition toward the use of *-o* terminations; for, to prove such a tendency in the language would involve a demonstration that parts of speech other than the singular possessive pronouns terminated thus irregularly in *-o*, and I do not think that such a phenomenon can be proved for the Italian. In addition to this, although the masculine form is used in the majority of cases yet other forms occur too often to admit of the possibility of such an explanation even for the possessive pronouns.

- a. Irregularities in the Singular have no explanation in common with that for the irregular plurals *mia, tua, sua*.

It was observed in the beginning of this essay that I do not believe in any connection between the irregularities in the singular just spoken of, and like ones in the plural—*mia, tua, sua*, which remain to be discussed. My reasons for this conclusion are,

First, if *mia, tua, sua* are to be explained as extensions from the singular to the plural, it will have to be shown that they were so often used in the singular for the masculine, as well as for the feminine, that they were finally adopted as the

general forms for both genders and numbers of the possessive pronoun on account of this frequency of usage. But, as shown above (cf. Table), the opposite is the case, the masculine being the form most generally used, and, if such an extension had been carried out, *mio*, *tuo*, *suo* would have been the forms adopted, and not *mia*, *tua*, *sua*. *Mia* occurs only once for *mio* (UU) and, in this instance, for rhyme; *sua* for *suo*, only twice (X). Also, because of the infrequency of such occurrences, it would be very difficult to prove that the irregularity originated in the singular,—a fact which must be established if it is asserted that it was extended from singular to plural.

Secondly, considering the mixture of forms noted in the Table, it is natural to suppose that, for example, as *suo* was used for *sua*, *suoi* and *sue*, so *sue* might be used for *suo*, *sua*, *suoi*, and *sua* for *suo*, *suoi*, *sue*; that is, there was a promiscuous interchange of forms, and finally, for some reason, *sua* predominated (and similarly *mia* predominated over *mio*, *mie*, *miei*, and *tua* over *tuo*, *tue*, *tuoi*); hence these forms as found in so many texts. But the fact that effectually annuls such a supposition is, that by comparison of texts where *mia*, *tua*, *sua* (plurals) are found with those where irregularities in the singular occur, we discover that only two of the texts containing the *mia*, *tua*, *sua* forms have any irregularities in the singular (O and II; cf. Table). In these two authors the plural forms can arise from no mixture with the singular, for the irregularity referred to in the singular is in the use of *mie* for *mio* and *suo* for *sua* (where in *mie*, *mio*, *mia* is not in question); and even if *sua* was used for *suo*, there would be no connection between it and *sua* of the plural (= *suoi* or *sue*).

If these two objections just given were not sufficient of themselves to militate against any supposable analogy of singular and plural irregularities, either by extension from singular to plural, or by crossing of singular and plural, I should still fail to see the necessity of casting about for such an explanation when these forms (*mia*, *tua*, *sua*) can be logically accounted for as plurals. And now, assuming it as pretty well settled that

the singular plays no part in the development of such plural forms (*mia, tua, sua*), I shall proceed to discuss them.

3. *Notice taken by early grammarians of the irregular plurals, mia, tua, sua.*

The first notice of them that I find is in the work of Mutio.¹ In discussing the Florentine as a model form of speech the writer says (p. 12): "Ma per Dio veggiamo ancora un poco, quanto sia vera, che essi da' padre e dalle madre piccioli fanciulli la buona lingua apprendano. In quel libro del Tolomei lodansi le piu Toscane città di Toscano si dà loro questo vanto, che parlano, piu che le altre Fiorentinamente. Et dicesi in Firenze: *I versi mia* (etc., enumerating a number of similar irregularities)—nelle quali non si serva ne numero, ne genere, ne desinenza, ne forma di diritto parlare."

Again, a notice of them is found in a work by Beni;² the writer mentions defects of the Florentine speech and says (p. 42): "Sicom anco il dir *dua* per *due*; *mia, tua, sua* per *mie, tue, sue*," etc.

4. *Explanations offered by later grammarians.*

Among the more modern grammarians we find these peculiar forms first mentioned by Blanc.³ He says (p. 277): "Statt *miei, tuoi, suoi*; *mie, tue, sue*, liebten die Alten, besonders die Florentiner, *mia, tua, sua*." He gives three examples without comment.

Diez,⁴ *Gram.* II, 90, takes no notice of them, except in a footnote referring to the passage in Blanc just quoted.

Körting⁵ does not mention them.

¹ *Battaglie di Hieronimo Mutio, per difesa dell' Italica lingua.* Vinegia, 1582.

² Paolo Beni, *L' Anticrusca ovvero Il Paragone dell' Italiana Lingua.* Padova, 1612.

³ *Grammatik der Italiänischen Sprache.* Halle, 1844.

⁴ *Grammatik der Romanischen Sprachen*, 4^{te} Auflage. Bonn, 1876.

⁵ *Encyclopædie und Methodologie der romanischen Philologie.* Heilbronn, 1886.

The only writer who has spoken of them at length is d'Ovidio, who in the *Archivio Glottologico Italiano* (IX, 1886 : footnote, p. 54), says: "Ognun ricorda i plurali ambigeneri *mia, tua, sua*, del toscano antico e moderno: forme popolari, comparse solo sporadicamente e timidamente, in tutti i tempi, nella lingua colta, e pur di vita tenacissima. Io vi ho sempre riconosciuto una bella continuazione del neutro plurale latino. Una ipotesi, fonetica, potrebbe sorgere a contrastare la nostra spiegazione morfologica dei plurali *mia* ecc. La grammatica neo-latina, e la dialettologia italiana in ispecie, ci dà copiosa messe di *-a* epitetici oppur sostituentisi ad altre atone finali. Già finora ne siam venuti dando, a più riprese, parecchi begli essemppj, e qui possiam aggiungere il milan. *indova* (= *dove*), lad. *nua*, abruzz. *donna* (= *donde*), leccese *fraina* (= *fratello*). Or, data questa tendenza all' *-a*, niente, si potrebbe dire, di più naturale che i pl. fem. *mie, tue* ecc. direttamente, e i msch. *miei, tuoi* ecc. mercè l'apocope dell' *-i* e la ritrazion dell' accento fattisi *mie', tuo'* ecc., si riducesser tutti a *mia, tua* ecc. Senonchè, appunto la tendenza all' *-a* per ogni altro paese è stata dimostrata che per la Toscana! E se *mie'* ecc. si fosse per semplice vezzo fonetico fatto *mia* ecc., non si capirebbe come questo vezzo non attaccasse anche le voci del singolare! L'essere semplici plurali quelli, è prova che l'origin loro è schiettamente morfologica."

a. Further suggestions which are unsatisfactory. *mei* > *mia* by analogy to *lei* > *lia*.

Meyer-Lübke, *It. Gr.*,¹ § 375, after quoting from this statement of d'Ovidio, makes another suggestion to the following effect: out of the shortened forms *mie', tuo', suo'*, as used for both genders, the full forms *miei, tuoi, suoi* were developed and used for both genders (cf. Table). Now, just as these full two-gendered forms originated in the masculine plural, so *mia* comes from the masculine plural form *mei*, and then is used for both

¹ *Italienische Grammatik*. Leipzig, 1890.

genders similarly to *miei*, *tuoi*, *sui*. (Instances of *mei* used for the feminine may be found in *Crestomazia*,¹ p. 148, line 119, *le mei vertude nè le mei force*; line 120, *le mei mani*. But occurrences of it have not been noted in Tuscan texts; the selection from which the examples just given were taken, is in old Venetian). The author's explanation of *mia* is as follows: "Wie in toskanischen Mundarten *lei* zu *lia* wird² so könnte *mia* aus *mei* auf lautlichem Wege entstanden sein, und wäre im XIV bis XVI Jahr. auch in die Litterärsprache, wenigstens in die Prosa, gedrungen."—My objection to this theory is: *mei* and *lei* as phonetical elements are not analogous, and the *-ei* in the two words cannot be supposed to have undergone a like development because of the difference in the preceding consonants, *m* and *l*. In X, fo. &ijj, occurs the form *glia* where *l* mouillé was probably the factor which raised *e* to *i*, and the development of *lia* < *lei* (no matter at what stage of the language) always went hand in hand with the pronunciation of *l* as a mouillé element; it is impossible to omit the *i* in pronunciation in removing the tongue from the mouillé to a lower position.³—Further proof that *ia* < *ei* is due to the preceding *l* mouillé is found in the fact that no example of *ei* > *ia* is noted in other words; for example, *ria* (= *rei*), *dia* (= *dei*, DEI), *sia* (= *sei*, SEX) do not exist.⁴ [Dialectic *sia* (2nd. pers. sing. Pres. Subj.) and conditionals in *-ria* (for *-rei*) cannot be adduced as established illustrations of the phonetic change under discussion since there is no objection to supposing the former < V. L.

¹*Crestomazia Italiana dei Primi Secoli*. Per Ernesto Monaci. Fascicolo Primo. Città di Castello, 1889.

²An example of such a *lia* may be seen in *Crestomazia*, p. 22, line 114.

³It will probably be objected to this that the process was the reverse of what I have indicated and that *l* did not become *l* mouillé until after *e* had become *i*. If this is true, *i* is the factor that developed *l* mouillé, not *l* mouillé the one which developed *i*. The question cannot be decided until something more definite is known as to the history of this peculiar form *lia*.

⁴On p. 38 will be found an example of *dia* = *dei* (DEBES), which would be a closer analogy for *mei* than *lei* is. But it probably owes its existence to a confusion with the Subjunctive Present *dia* < *dea* < *deva*.

SEAS, and the latter had its origin in Imperfects in *-ea*.] A further objection to *mia* < *mei* is evident in *tua*, *sua*, unless these forms be regarded as analogical to *mia*; but I can scarcely believe that forms of the second and third possessive pronoun are developed by analogy with a like form of the first person.

b. Result of position in stress-group.

Again, I have taken as my norm the precept of Neumann:¹ “Wir müssen stets einen Satz im Auge behalten: ein Wort entwickelt sich nie an sich, sondern stets nur gemäss der Stellung, die es im Satzzusammenhang einnimmt. So kann ein Wort, resp. die Silbe eines Wortes in verschiedenem Satzzusammenhange oft ganz verschiedene Betonung haben, es kann einmal den Hochtön, ein ander Mal Nebentön oder gar keinen accent haben, wodurch naturgemäss eine verschiedene Lautentwicklung bedingt ist.” I have tried to apply this principle in accounting for the development of *mia*, *tua*, *sua*; for example, in MM, where such numbers of these irregular pronominal forms occur, of the whole number of *mia* combinations found (in masc. plu.) one hundred and thirty are before the noun, twenty-seven after it. Of the feminine plurals (*mia*) six are before the noun, two after it; of *tua* (masc. plu.) three are before the noun, four after it; of *sua* (masc. plu.) thirty-six are before the noun, fifteen after it; of *sua* (fem. plu.) the three forms found are after nouns. But these proportional uses show nothing, since the occurrence of more irregular forms before than after the noun simply agrees with the construction of the regular forms.—By glancing at the Table (p. 16) it will be observed that while the number of poets who employ these peculiar forms is greater than that of the prose writers, yet the use of them is so limited that no conclusion can be drawn from a study of the metre, rhyme, etc. It is evident, therefore, that the position of *mia*, *tua*, *sua* in the sentence does not assist in discovering their origin.

¹ *Literaturblatt*, III, 467.

c. Phonetical reductions.

The phonetical development of these forms, as mentioned by d'Ovidio (cf. p. 23) was not satisfactory to him, since he saw at once the inconsistency of positing that for the plural, *mie'*, *tuo'*, *suo'* were reduced to *mia*, *tua*, *sua*, but the singular forms, *mio*, *tuo*, *suo*, remained unaffected. I think if such a reduction had taken place, the reduced forms would have been *mi*, *tu*, *su*, and not with an *-a* borrowed elsewhere,—that is, reduction would have induced a shortening of the forms, not merely a change of final *-e* to *-a*. There is such a *mi* found. In O (p. 56, line 10, note) the editor (Prof. Nicola Arnone) says: “Il *mi* non è che un' abbreviazione di *mie'*”; the sentence in which the *mi*, spoken of by him, occurred was “da li occhi *mi*[*e'*] passò, etc.”—Such a reduction of *mie'* > *mia* will be still more difficult to prove, when the examples of an opposite reduction on p. 36 are considered; we there observe many instances of the first and third person present Subjunctive *sia* reduced to *sie*; so that *mie*, as used in the feminine singular for *mia*, might have been originally a reduction of the latter;¹ but for the opposite *mie'* > *mia* the only analogy found is that of *die* DIES > *dia*, but in this case the change is due to rhyme.

d. *Mia* adopted from a confusion of *mie'* = *miei* and *mie'* = *mia* (Sing.).

The form *mie'* (= **miea*?) noted above (cf. Table) might have had some influence in producing the irregular *mia*. On the supposition that it (*mie'*) existed by the side of the shortened form of the masculine plural (*mie'*) there might have arisen in the minds of the people using them a confusion as to the difference of gender and number of the two. Thus, on analogy to the masculine MĒUS a MĒA was formed out of which developed **miea*, while out of the regular MĒA a *mia* also existed. We would then have:

¹ Cf. p. 18.

Masc. Plu. *miei*—*mie'*,
 Fem. Sing. **miea*—*mie'*—*mia*.

Now, when *mie'* (fem.) ceased to be used and *mia* was the only form existing, the masculine plural *mie'* (= same as feminine *mie'* which is supposed to be used no more, but is replaced by *mia*) might also have been changed to *mia* on account of this confusion of *mie'* (fem. sing.) and *mie'* (masc. plu.). This explanation I would regard as preferable to that of a phonetical reduction of *mie'* to *mia*, since in the latter case the *-a* has to be explained (a thing not satisfactorily done up to the present), whereas on my supposition there is a crossing of two forms, one of which already had the *-a*. Given this analogical effect as a starting point, might not subsequent speakers, having lost sight of its origin (as a crossing with feminine singular *mia*) have looked upon this *mia* (= *mie'* masc. plu.) as a feminine also used indifferently for the masculine plural? Then *tua*, *sua*, feminine singulars of the second and third persons were adopted in the same manner for masculine plurals? The extension of the use (of *mia*, *tua*, *sua*) from masculine to feminine plural would be rendered all the easier from the fact that so many feminine plurals also ended in *-a* (from the Latin Neuters). The objection might be raised to this supposition that these forms, *mia*, *tua*, *sua*, are not also extended to the singular *mio*, *tuo*, *suo*, but the analogical development suggested above is sufficient answer to this; I changed the *-e* of *mie'* (*miei*) to *-a* from the crossing of this form with an original *-a* (*mia*); and *tua*, *sua* followed by analogy to this. Hence it would be inappropriate to ask of me why *tuo* (sing.) does not go into *tua* as well as *tuo'* (*tuoi*).—This development would also have the merit of being evidently an early one, and therefore capable of accounting for an early appearance of *mia*, *tua*, *sua*.

Though I hold this explanation of the phenomena before us to be more plausible than those offered up to the present, yet it is unsatisfactory also to me, for while it explains *mia*,

it does not explain *tua*, *sua*, which have to be supposed as analogous to *mia*: the latter supposition is contrary to my assumption (cf. p. 25) that analogy plays no perceptible part in the development of the forms under discussion.

Résumé of unsatisfactory explanations.

After this brief review of opinions touching the development of the forms under discussion, I hold that the following explanations of *mia*, *tua*, *sua* are unsatisfactory for the reasons given above.

1. That they are extensions of irregularities in the singular.
2. That *mia* was developed from *mei* and then used for both genders as *miei*, *tuoi*, *suoi* once were so used. (This I consider as the strongest phonetical explanation suggested, but the phonetic improbabilities that led me to reject it strengthens more firmly my confidence in the explanation given below.)
3. That the irregularities may have developed by virtue of their position in the sentence, as tonic or atonic, before or after the noun (or otherwise).
4. That *mie'*, *tuo'*, *suo'*, (= *miei*, *tuoi*, *suoi*) were reduced phonetically to *mia*, *tua*, *sua*.
5. That on account of a confusion in the use of *mie'* (*miei*) and *mie'* (**miea*?), when *mia* was adopted as the only form of the feminine singular, *mie'* of the masculine plural was likewise reduced to *mia*.

5. *Mia*, *tua*, *sua* are remnants of the Latin Neuter Plural.

What explanation, then, remains? A phonetical development is doubted; analogy is not admitted; therefore, the origin must be morphological, and the only morphological explanation tenable is that *mia*, *tua*, *sua* rest on the old Latin Neuter Plural. Strengthening such a supposition is the fact that we find many remnants of the old Latin Neuter in the noun present in the texts examined; for example, in H, pp. 86, 98,

101, *castella*; T, *ossa*; V, *Ameto*, p. 56, *le sua corna*; p. 57, *le labra sua*; EE, p. 21, *dua ciglia*; GG, fo. q 2, *dua braccia*; fo. d, *le tua mura*; II, fo. fq 6, *le sua alia*; JJ, p. 372, *le membra mia*; LL, p. 38, *ossa mia*; MM, I, 390, *mia lenzuola*. In F, p. 23, occurs *tucta chotai chose*.—Neuter plurals of the Latin were preserved in Italian as feminine plurals when they had collective significations,¹ and it may be seen from the examples just cited that *mia*, *tua*, *sua* are found before such nouns. I think that the existence of the irregular *sua* in Dante (*Purg.* ix, 13, *le sua braccia*), where it has this collective signification, settles beyond doubt the origin of the form as a Latin Neuter Plural. What strengthens the supposition that this is a Latin form is, that Dante employs the Latin *SUI* also.²—Now, from their (*mia*, *tua*, *sua*) use before original Latin neuters with collective meaning, they were next employed with words, not derived from Latin neuters, but yet having a dual signification; for example, in AA, III, 179, *mia parenti*; JJ, p. 70, *occhi mia*; MM, I, 310, *mia piedi*; *mia (due) giovani*, etc. Many of the forms noted in MM were used in connection with *dua*; in fact I think there must have been a strong analogy between these pronominal forms and *dua*, since as neuters they would often have a dual signification, and in addition to this here is a word (*dua*) whose formation is quite like that of *tua*, *sua*. *Dua* is used in O, GG, II, JJ, LL, MM and NN, and it is to be noted that in all of these texts the irregular *mia*, *tua*, *sua* occur, and especially that *dua* does not occur earlier than these forms do, but they (*dua*, *mia*, etc.) seem to appear together and to be used side by side, and that in the same texts Latin neuter plurals of nouns are preserved. Thus all these phenomena (*dua*; *mia*, *tua*, *sua*; and the nouns) appear as a revival of the Latin Neuter under the influence of which all these forms seem to have arisen about the same time; the other forms parallel to *mia*, *tua*, *sua*

¹ Cf. Meyer-Lübke, *It. Gr.*, §§ 329 and 341.

² Cf. Zehle, *Laut- und Flexionslehre in Dante's Divina Commedia*. Marburg, 1886, p. 13: "Neben *tuo*i, *suoi* stehen bei Dante die Latinismen *SUI* und *TUI*."

strengthen the supposition that these (*mia, tua, sua*) too are neuter plurals and not mere isolated examples.—Lastly, from the use of these pronouns before original neuters with collective signification; then before nouns, not neuters but having such signification, they were used indiscriminately before substantives of all kinds, regardless of their meaning.

a. Time of appearance; originated among the people; extent of employ; conclusion.

As may be seen from the Table (p. 16) the forms under discussion are found in texts before Dante; from the nature of their origin (as Neuter Plurals) we would naturally expect a line of direct transmission from the Latin; the fact, therefore, of their occurrence in the oldest texts is further proof of their origin from the neuter. Diez¹ remarks: “Von einem Altitalienischen im Sinne des Altfranzösischen kann keine Rede sein; die Sprache des XIII Jh. unterscheidet sich nur durch einzelne, namentlich volksmässige Formen und Wörter, nicht durch grammatischen Bau, von der Spätern.” The same applies to *mia, tua, sua*; they were first used by the early writers who employed them conscientiously as neuter plurals; from these neuter forms their use was extended by the people, with whom the forms have been in vogue ever since, appearing from time to time in literary productions.

Did these forms originate with the writers, and were they carried from them to the people, or was the reverse the case? Castelvetro, speaking of other words,² says: “Conciosia cosa che i popoli non prendano i vocaboli da poeti & spetialmente da simili a Dante & al Petrarca & a tali quali ha poeti la lingua nostra, che a pena sono letti & intesi degli ’ntendenti huomini con molto studio.—Non trassero dunque i nostri poeti le predette parole da volumi de provenzali, ma della commune usanza del parlare italiano.” I think these remarks apply also to

¹ *Gram.* I, 79.

² *Corretione d'alcune cose del dialogo delle lingue di Varchi, et una giunta al primo libro delle prose di M. Pietro Bembo.* Basilaë, 1572; p. 175.

mia, *tua*, *sua*, and for two reasons: first, their existence in the Latin, and appearance later in early Italian necessarily indicates their preservation by the people during the time for which we have no texts; and secondly, because, as may be seen from the Table, they were used most frequently by popular writers.

Extent of employ. The proportion in MM, where the greatest number of these irregular pronouns was found, is as follows:

<i>miei</i> , 54 times,	<i>mia</i> (= <i>miei</i>), 157 times.
<i>tuoi</i> , 8 “	<i>tua</i> (= <i>tuoi</i>), 7 “
<i>suoi</i> , 68 “	<i>sua</i> (= <i>suoi</i>), 51 “
<i>mie</i> , 189 “	<i>mia</i> (= <i>mie</i>), 8 “
<i>tue</i> , 17 “	
<i>sue</i> , 145 “	<i>sua</i> (= <i>sue</i>), 3 “

I have marked both regular and irregular forms throughout my reading, and I may give those of V as an example of the small proportion of irregular to regular constructions. In this author we find the regular

<i>miei</i> , 211 times;	<i>mie</i> , 144 times.
<i>tuoi</i> , 96 “	<i>tue</i> , 57 “
<i>suoi</i> , 461 “	<i>sue</i> , 244 “

(Irregular forms from V have been given above, p. 10.) A like enumeration for the other texts would show a similar proportion.

Meyer-Lübke, after making his suggestion as to the development of *mia* (cf. p. 23) remarks:¹ “Genaue Untersuchungen über die Verbreitung von *mia* in alter und neuer Zeit werden darüber Auskunft geben.” He and all other writers on the subject treat this irregularity as specifically Florentine. I have made the research he asked for, and among Florentine writers of four centuries, with the results indicated above

¹ *It. Gr.* § 375.

CHAPTER II.

REGULAR FORMS OF THE POSSESSIVE PRONOUNS.

A. TONIC E AND I IN HIATUS; *mio*; *miei*.1. *Previous treatment of hiatus E.*

This subject has been treated, according to my knowledge, as follows: Meyer-Lübke says:¹ "Im Hiatus steht für *e* vor *i* der Diphthong *ie*, vor den anderen Vokalen *i* ohne Rücksicht darauf ob *ē*, *e* oder *i* zu Grunde liege: *mio*, *mia*, *mie*: *miei*, *dio*, *rio*, *di* und *dia*, *zio*, *sia*, *pria*, *via*, *io*, *cria*. Als Buchwörter sind *reo* bei Brunetto und Dante, *rie*, *rea* bei Dante zu betrachten.—Beachtenswerth sind ven.-pad. *pria* neben *piera* (PETRA), *drio* Cort."—Again:² "Vortonvokale im Hiatus sind selten, meist sind *i*, *e* und *u* in dieser Stellung schon im Vulgärlateinischen zu *ī*, *ū* geworden, daher fürs Italienische, Konsonanten. In Buchwörtern oder bei sekundärem Hiatus bleibt meist der Vokal unverändert, doch zeigt *e* vor *o* and *e* Neigung zu *i* zu werden: *lione*, *niente* aber *reina*."—Further, d'Ovidio:³ "ĭ im lateinischen Hiatus beharrt als *i* oder wird wieder zu *i*: *via*, *sia*, *pria*, *dī* vom arch. *die*, *dia*. (Indirekt gehört auch *brío* hierher, das von *brioso* EBRIOSUS abstrahiert wurde)."—Again:⁴ "Es giebt eine Reihe Wörter, die den Diphthongen nicht haben und die doch nur volkstümlich sein können: *sei* Verb, *sei* Zahlwort, *è* EST.—*Sei* Verb, welches ES ist mit vorgeschlagenem *s* von *sono*, lautete einst *siei*; das erste *i* wurde ausgestossen durch Dissimilation und auch in Folge häufiger proclitischer Stellung des Wortes; dasselbe gilt von *sei* SEX, obschon es ein tosc. *siei* nicht giebt. Die Proclisis erklärt auch *è* EST."—Also:⁵ "Eine eigene Gruppe

¹ *It. Gr.* § 96.² *Ibid.* § 141.³ In *Grundriss der Romanischen Philologie*. Herausg. von Gustav Gröber. Strassburg, 1888. I, 503, § 15.⁴ *Grundriss*, I, 512, § 26.⁵ *Grundriss*, I, 514, § 29.

bilden die Wörter, in denen Ė im Hiatus steht: dies wurde zuerst zu *ie* und verengte sich dann unter dem Einfluss des Hiatus zu *i*: *dio* = **dico* DEUS, arch. *rio* REUM, arch. *cria* CREAT, *mio*, *mia*, *mie* MEUS, *io* *EO. Gelehrt oder halbgelehrt sind dagegen: *dęa*, *dęi*, *reęo*, *creęa*. In *mięi* MĖI behauptete sich *ie* = Ė unter dem Einfluss des Schlussvokals."—Finally Caix remarks: ¹ "Tutto questo c'induce a concludere che nella prima lingua poetica le forme con *e* dovettero essere di gran lunga le più frequenti.—Ma nel Toscano fin dai più antichi documenti non s'incontrano che forme con *i*. Dante scrisse *Deo* solo in rima e il Petrarca raramente *meo*.—Da notare è solo quanto a REUS che *rio* è del verso, e *re*o della prosa."

These quotations include many words which will come up for discussion in the present division of this monograph; their occurrence, as well as other forms to be considered, is represented as follows in the texts consulted:

io,—A20,² B133, C rule,³ D5, E20, F rule, G1, H4, I11, J110, K161, L4, N rule, O26, P rule, Q rule, R1, S16; rule in T, U, V, W, X, Y, Z, AA, BB, EE, FF, GG, HH, JJ, KK, MM, NN, OO, PP, QQ, RR, SS.

eo,—A57, B26, E75, F1, L14, O4, S1, X1.

mio,—A13, B59, C rule, E6, F rule, G1, I2, J15, K46, L4, N rule, O5; rule in P, Q, S(7), T, U, V, W, X, Y, Z, AA, BB, CC, DD(19), EE, FF, GG, HH, JJ, KK, LL, MM, NN, OO, PP, QQ, RR, SS, TT(8).

meo,—A38, B32, E76, L2, CC1, X1.

mia,—B126, C rule, E48, F rule, I3, J11, K21, O rule, P rule, Q rule, R1, S1, T1; rule in U, V, X, Z, AA, BB(32), DD(13), EE, FF, GG, HH, KK, MM, PP, TT.

mea,—E1, X2.

¹*Origini della Lingua Poetica Italiana*. Firenze, 1880. § 14.

²The numeral following a capital letter represents the number of times a form occurs in the given author.

³'Rule' indicates that a given form is found to the exclusion of variants of the same.

mie,—B5, G1, J2, K3, M2, R1, T12, U2, V144, X rule, Y2, Z7, AA16, BB1, CC5, DD1, EE25, FF13, GG34, JJ24, LL8, MM189, SS20, TT3.

dio,—A1, B20, C rule, D2, E2, F rule, G1, H14, I9, J42, K153, L4, M30, N rule, P31, Q rule, R2, S2; rule in T, U, V, W, X(10), Y, Z, AA, BB, DD(4), EE, FF, HH, JJ, KK (51), LL, MM, NN(135), PP, SS.

deo,—A12, B10, E4, L11, P1,¹ X1.

dia (= fem. of *dio*),—X1,² FF1.³

dee (= fem. plu. of *dio*),—P2,⁴ V4,⁵ Y rule, LL2.

rio,—B3, E1, F rule, K2, N rule, P2, S1, V2, X14, Z rule, AA rule, BB2, CC1, FF2, GG7, HH rule, JJ5, KK10, MM rule, NN44, PP rule, SS5, TT2.

reo,—A2, B12, N1, P7, V8, X14, FF6, GG6, II4, JJ1, NN4, SS4.

ria,—B4, F rule, H1, K2, N rule, P5, S1, V1, X3, AA rule, BB1, FF1, GG3, HH rule, JJ3, KK11, MM rule, NN37, PP rule, SS4, TT1.

rea,—E1, N2, P1, V13, X9, BB2, CC1, FF2, GG5, II1, KK1, NN26, SS13.

rie,—F rule, H1, K1, N3, NN3.

ree,—M1, N2, P1, NN4.

fio,—B5, E1, O1, X1.

feo,—B1,⁶ H1.

pio,—O, T, V, SS.

pia,—V.

mei,—All examples of this have been given above (cf. Table, p. 16).

miei,—A2, B4, C rule, F rule, J4, K4, L3, M9, N22, O10, R1, S1, V211, X rule, Y8, Z8, AA44, BB7, CC11, DD1,

¹ Purg. xvi, 35: *reo: feo*.

² fo. hiiij: *profecia: maria*.

³ p. 184: Singular *mia* madonna ed alma *dia*. These are the only examples found of *dia*; in all other cases the Latin *dea* is preserved.

⁴ Purg. xxxii, 3; Par. xxviii, 41.

⁵ *Ameto*, pp. 11, 65, 86.

⁶ p. 121: *reo: feo*.

EE20, FF15, GG28, HH rule, JJ70, KK35, LL8, MM54, NN44, PP rule, SS28, TT5.

dei,—L4, P4, X11, Y6, BB1, LL6, NN10, SS rule.

dii,—K2, P1,¹ T71, V124,² X2, Y1, BB5, EE1, OO.

rei,—B3, I4, K2, L1, M1, T1, V rule, X6, FF4, TT1.

riei,—F9.

rii,—P1.³

lei,—B1, C1, F rule, L1, O rule, T, X rule.

liei,—G1,⁴ J1,⁵ K2, L1,⁶ N1,⁷ TT4.⁸

sei (= *ēs*),—C1, P, F1, V rule, X, Y rule, Z1, II rule, LL3, SS rule, FF1.

sici (= *sei*, *es*),—J1.⁹

piedi (= *PEDES*),—H, I4, U rule, X.

piei,—H2, J2, K3, X3, TT rule.

pei,—X1.

dei (= *DEBES*),—C5, F112, M1, N2, O1, P, T3, V rule, X3, Z rule, GG4,¹⁰ LL1, SS4.

diei (= *dei*, *DEBES*),—K6.¹¹

se' (= *sei*, *es*),—F20, N1,¹² O1, P, S1, Z11, BB1, CC1, FF1, GG, LL, TT1.

see (= *sei*),—N3.¹³

sie (= *sei*),—F8,¹⁴ P2,¹⁵ V1,¹⁶ TT2.¹⁷

¹ Also *pii* (plu. of *pio*): Purg. XXI, 24; Par. IX, 26.

² *dei* occurs also in V.

³ Inf. XXI, 22: *desii: rii: partii*.

⁴ p. 35.

⁵ p. 41.

⁶ p. 198.

⁷ p. 3.

⁸ pp. 56, 59, 80 (*liei: miei*), 109. In this author occur also, p. 76, *costiei: piei*; p. 78, *costiei: miei*; p. 82, *coliei*.

⁹ Cf. *Crestomazia*, p. 161, line 10. Same line, *stiei*.

¹⁰ Here also *debi*; cf. fo. b 3.

¹¹ First example is on p. 28. Occurrences of *giudei*, *sei* (*SEX*), *bei* (*bevi*) have been noted, but they do not occur in any of the texts examined, under diphthongized forms.

¹² p. 267.

¹³ pp. 69, 215.

¹⁴ First ex. p. 5.

¹⁵ Purg. xxv, 11.

¹⁶ *Decam.* fo. Bb: *tu sie il ben venuto*.

¹⁷ p. 86: *tu sie la ben trovata*; p. 87: *sa' che tu sie sì crudel*.

sie (= 1st pers. Subj. Pres.),—TT1,¹ P1.²

sie (= 2nd pers. Subj. Pres.),—P3,³ V5,⁴ II2,⁵ TT4.⁶

sie (= 3rd pers. Subj. Pres.),—P1,⁷ V3.⁸

sia (= SIS),—P1.⁹

sii (= *sei*, ES),—V2,¹⁰ Z1.¹¹

dia (= 3d. pers. Subj. Pres. of *dare*),—C rule, F1, H1, J7, K1, N1, R1, T rule, DD3, KK6, TT1.

dea (= 3d. pers. Subj. Pres. of *dare*),—B3, D1, M3,¹² N2,¹³ P2,¹⁴ V6.¹⁵

dii (= 2nd. pers. Subj. Pres. of *dare*),—V1.¹⁶

die (= 3d. pers. Subj. Pres. of *dare*),—DD1.¹⁷

¹ p. 55: d'onorar un tal giorno non *sie* ingrato.

² Purg. xx, 14: prima che (*io*) *sie* morto.

³ Purg. xvi, 5: Guarda, che da me *tu* non *sie* mozzo; Par. xv, 16: benedetto *sie tu*; Par. xxix, 22: *sie (tu)* certo.

⁴ Decam. fo. C (twice); fo. Lb; fo. Mij; fo. Y.

⁵ fo. ez: fa (*tu*) che non *sie* polaco ne tedesco; fo. fq. 8: Fiolo mio, *sie* vago du dire cosa ecc.

⁶ p. 58: che *tu* non *sie* veduto; p. 78: che *tu sie* nostra; vogliam che *tu sie* la nostra dama; p. 86: che *tu sie* benedetta.

⁷ Purg. xxx, 36: Perchè *sie* colpa. *Sie* is the reading of three of the Mss., *sia* that of one.

⁸ Decam. fos. Cij; Cbj 6; Xijj.

⁹ Purg. xx, 4; one Ms. here reads: maladetta *sia tu*, the three others *sie*.

¹⁰ Decam. fo. Obj 2: quanto *tu sii* da me amata; Ameto, p. 78: *tu sola sii* donna di me.

¹¹ *tu sii* la ben tornata. Cf. here *Il Torto e il Diritto del non si Può, dato in giudicio sopra molte regole della lingua Italiana*. Esaminato da Ferrante Longobardi. Roma, 1655, p. 77: *Tu sii* e *tu sia* si dice ugualmente bene ne tempi che cotal terminatione ricevono. E simile delle altre maniere de' verbi che'l soffrono; avegna che alcuni scrittori e infra gli altri il Boccaccio habbiano piu volentieri finiti così fatti tempi delle seconde persone in *i* che in *a*.

¹² pp. 25, 35.

¹³ pp. 50, 457.

¹⁴ Inf. xxxiii, 42: Innanzi ch'Atropos mossa le *dea*; Purg. xxi, 5: Dio vi *dea* pace.

¹⁵ Decam. fo. Jbj 8, 9: Dio gli *dea* il buon anno; Dio mi *dea* la gratia sua; fo. Hvj: se Dio ti *dea* buona ventura, etc.

¹⁶ Ameto, p. 50: innanzi che *tu dii* materia di turbamento.

¹⁷ Dio ti *die* grazia.

deano (= 3d. pers. Plu. Subj. Pres. of *dare*),—V1.¹

stia (= 3d. pers. Pres. Subj. of *stare*),—B1, I1, K1, R1, T1.

stea (= 3d. pers. Pres. Subj. of *stare*),—B2, M2,² P5,³ V10,⁴ KK1.⁵

stii (= 2nd. pers. Subj. Pres. of *stare*),—BB1.⁶

steano (= 3rd. pers. Plu. Subj. Pres. of *stare*),—V1.⁷

dere,—C2, S1, T4, SS3.

dee (= *dere*),—B2, C7, D9, E2, F6, H3, I16, M3, N30, P, R4, S7, T1, V rule, X1, AA2, FF1, GG4, KK6, LL6, SS5.

de (= *dere*),—B7, C5, D1, F68, H6, N1, P, S6, T5, U rule, X1, Z8.

de (= *dei*, DEBES),—F28, Z1.⁸

di (= *dere*),—N.⁹

die (= *dere*),—G rule,¹⁰ J7, K12,¹¹ N3,¹² S2, T9, EE1.¹³

¹ *Decam.* fo. Dbj 2.

² pp. 10, 13: non piaccia che l'anima *stea* in prigione.

³ Inf. xxxiii, 41: Come il mio corpo *stea*; Purg. ix, 48, Quando a cantar con organi si *stea*; Purg. xvii, 28: Se i piè si stanno, non *stea* tuo sermone; Par. ii, 33: Fa che * * * ti *stea* un lume; Par. xxxi, 15: E spera già ridir com' ello *stea*.

⁴ *Ameto*, p. 39: che seguir i suoi piacer, convien che *stea*
A tal dover con l'animo soggetto,
Che quel che se non vuole, altrui non *dea*.

ibid. p. 43: voi dovete imaginare come egli *stea*. *ibid.* p. 61:

Et di quel caldo tal frutto si *crea*
Che se ne acquista il conoscere iddio
Et come vada, & venga, & dove *stea*.

ibid. p. 77: sia adunque * * * et *dea* al vero effetto. *Decam.* fo. Hbj 4: luna qui si *stea* dentro; also fos. Pbj 2, Qbj, Xij, Yb, Aaij, Aabj 9.

⁵ xxix, 26.

⁶ p. 8: non vo' che *tu stii*.

⁷ *Decam.* fo. Xij.

⁸ p. 61.

⁹ p. 24: vostra fine non *dì* essere. There is a note to this as follows
Intendi, *dì* per *die*, o *dee*, o *de'*. Come qui presso ed altrove: *de'* essere.

¹⁰ *dere*, *dee* and *de'* do not occur in this text.

¹¹ First example, p. 36.

¹² p. 12: si *die* pensare; p. 34: gli porti 'l censo che gli *die* dare; p. 37: uomo *die* morire.

¹³ che *die* venire.

die (= *dei*),—K4.¹

dea (= *deva*),—S1, FF2.²

dia (= *deva*),—S4.³

dia (= *dei*),—T1.⁴

dei (= *deve*),—F7.⁵

deono (= *devono*),—D1, H4, J3, N1, V rule, Z2.

diano (= *devono*),—L1.⁶

dieno (= *devono*),—P1.⁷

dia (= *DIES*),—DD2.⁸

Die (= *Dio*, *DEUS*),—DD1,⁹ TT1.¹⁰

leone,—I, M1, N3, O1, P5, T8, X, Y, BB rule, GG22, SS3, LL5.

lione,—N15, P1, T1, CC1, GG51.

leoni,—M1, N1, T3, GG2, SS1.

lioni,—N13, GG5.

leale,—A1, B1, E1, M rule, N49, S rule, FF rule.

¹An evident contraction of *diei*.

²p. 100: *dea*: *Citerea*; p. 120: come *dea* far chi vuol prender dottrina.

³The variants of different Mss. of the canzoni of this author read alternately *dee*, *die*, *dia* and *dea*. The two latter are equivalent to *deve* in meaning, but the -a shows that they must be substitutions of Subjunctive for Indicative.

⁴priego che tu mandi colui che *tu dia* mandare.

⁵p. 9: parole non *dei* usare *chi*, etc. p. 12: ti *dei* muovere; p. 66: *s'ella* si fae sì come non *dei*; p. 66: (*egli*) non *dei* curare.—Aside from any phonetic reason that may be assigned for this form, a reasonable explanation may be found in the indiscriminate use of *dei* for both second and third person singular. On the same page occurs a direct admonition: "*tu non dei*, ecc." and immediately afterward follows an indefinite statement: "*egli non dei*, ecc."

⁶p. 200: le gioie che d'amore *diano* venire.

⁷Purg. XIII, 7: Esser *dien* sempre li tuoi raggi duci.—In various texts occur the forms *beo* (*bevo*), *creo* (*credo*), *veo* (*veggo*). In N are many examples of *bee*, *bea* (cf. pp. 158, 471) which are always printed with the circumflex accent, *bêe*, *bêa*, as is also *dêe*.

⁸p. 5: *dia*: *mia*; p. 31: *dia*: *partia*; *die* also occurs in a few cases.

⁹p. 15: *Die* ti mantenga.

¹⁰p. 72: che *Die* gli dia.

- liale*,—L1, N26.
leali,—N14.
liali,—N10.
leanza,—B1, C1, E1, N4.
lianza,—N6.
reale,—rule in H, I, N(3), T, BB, FF, SS.
reama,—C1, H rule, J10, M4, N1, rule in T, V, X, Z.
torneamento,—N35, P1.
tornimento,—N22, P1.
neuno,—F rule, I7, J27, K9, L2, M3, N14, V1, Z13.
niuno,—C1, H28, I27, M18, N100, T16, V4, Z1, EE, II rule.
neuna,—F rule, I4, J13, K7, L4, N32, Z3.
niuna,—H8, I24, M8, N102, F5, EE rule.¹
neente,—C1, K3, M15, S3, Z15.
niente,—C, H3, I8, K5, S10, rule in V, X(2), Y, Z(20), FF, II, LL(1).

The examples given above (pp. 33–39) will now be used in the consideration of three questions which arise in a study of hiatus E:

Does hiatus prevent the development of $\acute{i} > e$?

Does hiatus close E, thus making it *i*?

Does hiatus prevent the development of $E > ie$?

2. Does hiatus prevent the development of $\acute{i} > e$?

Where *i* is found alike in a Latin and Italian word, has it been preserved in the latter directly from its Latin form, or has it first developed into *e* (as it does in positions other than hiatus) and then been raised again to *i*? In a treatment of this question, the following words must be considered: *brio*, *dia* and *die*, *prio*, *pria*, *quia*, *sia*, *stria*, *via*.

¹The proportional use in the *Bandi Lucchesi del sec. XIV*. Bologna, 1863, is: *neuno*, 42, *neuna*, 118.

niuno, 9, *niuna*, 3.

brio (< EBRĪO,—ARE).¹

This word does not occur as *breo*.

dia and *die* (= DĪEM).

That this word passed through an *e*-stage (**de*, **dea*) is hardly probable; a comparison with other Romance languages indicates that it did not thus develop in a part of the field, at least; for it is found preserved in Sardinian (*die*), Provençal (*dis*, *dia*), Old French (*die*) and Spanish (*dia*).

pio (= PĪUS).

Corresponding to this is *pio*, Span., *piu*-s Prov., and no preceding *e*-stage is to be supposed for either of these languages.

pria (= PRĪA).

This word exists only in Italian, and no preceding **prea* has been noted for it.

quia (= QUĪA).

It is hardly to be questioned that *quia* is a preservation of the Latin form.

sia (= SIM and SĪT).

In this set of Tuscan texts examined by me, no form *sea* occurs. It is remarkable that authors who use *dia* and *dea* (*dare*), *stia* and *stea* (*stare*)² should seem to recognize *sia* as the only form for this verb; the fact that *dea* and *stea* are found in the earliest texts and as late as Bojardo, while *sea* does not so occur, seems to indicate that, for the Tuscan, *sea* never existed. The parallelism does not appear between the Tuscan and northern dialects, such as will be noted in the case of hiatus ū.³ The latter developed *o* in both of the territories just indicated but *e* out of hiatus *ī* is found only in the North.⁴

¹Ascoli, *Archiv. Glot. Ital.*, III, 455.

²Cf. p. 36.

³Cf. p. 61.

⁴Examples of *sea* may be found in the *Crestomazia*: pp. 86, l. 44; 102, l. 20; 105, l. 147; 112, l. 113; 113, l. 134; 135, l. 15; 137, l. 28; 141, l. 87; 145, l. 14, 20; 146, l. 41, 48, 55; 147, l. 65, 66.—A statement as to the dislike of the Tuscan for the *e*-forms is found in *Ampliatione della lingua volgare*

This word should not be included in the examples given by Meyer-Lübke,¹ for from his rule we are to understand that all words mentioned there passed through an *e*-stage. The explanation of the word as given in § 448 contradicts this supposition, however, and seems to imply that the *i* is supposed to have remained: "Der Konjunktiv *sia* erklärt sich aus älterem *SIM* durch Anfügung des Konjunktiv *-a*."

stria (= STRĪA).

The *i* is kept here also in Fr. *strie*,² Span. *estria*.

via (= VĪAM).

Via and *sia* are parallel in their development. Fr. *voie*, *soit* leave no room for doubt that for this language there was a preceding *VEA*, *SEAT* (later *veie*, *seit* > *voie*, *soit*). But for the Tuscan no *vea* is found.

These examples show that in Tuscan no *e*-stage is to be supposed for words which have lived on with primary hiatus *ī*.

To this list must be added words that have originally Latin *ī*, which is retained in both primary and secondary hiatus: *zio* (*THĪUM), *stio* (AESTĪVUM), *vie* (VĪVE), *rio* (poetic form of *rivo* < RĪVUM).

Also to be added are *sio* (botanical), *ghio* (maritime), *trio*, *dia* ('divine,' Par XIV, 11; XXIII, 36; XXVI, 3), *spio* and *fio*. The germanic *fēhu* gave in Italian *fio* and *feudo*, and the *e* in the example of *feo* (cited above, p. 34) was probably introduced from analogy to *feudo*.

Thus, the answer to our first question (Does hiatus prevent the development of *ī* > *e*?) must be given in the affirmative;

by M. Vitale Papazzoni. Venetia, 1587, p. 5: "*Dea* per *dia* dal Verbo *dare*, usano alcuni moderni contra 'l commun' uso degli altri, & non so perchè. Nè io per me lascierei il mio & degli altri solito *dia*, salvo se non volessi parer piu tosto Napolitano che Toscano o Lombardo ragionevole."

¹ *It. Gr.* § 96. Rule quoted above, p. 32.

² cf. Scheler, *Dictionnaire d'Etymologie Française*. 3me Ed. Paris et Bruxelles, 1888. p. 476.

the Tuscan treats alike \bar{i} and \check{i} in hiatus, since it preserves both of them.¹

3. Does hiatus close \bar{e} , thus making it i ?

This question has been considered by d'Ovidio,² and his conclusion is (p. 37): "Nessun certo esempio, adunque, ci occorre di e da \bar{E} lat., o di e romanza qualunque, che si chiuda in i per l'iato." A difficulty arises here because of the lack of examples of original Latin hiatus \bar{E} , the rule being, as given by Seelmann:³ "Kürzung von vocalen konnte erfolgen, wenn denselben direct andere folgten." There is one case, however, of e in secondary hiatus before e , with the result that it was raised to i ; this e (afterward i) was also long, and hence could not have been diphthongized ($>ie$) and reduced later to i . This example is *die* (= *dee* = *deve*, cf. p. 37). It is treated by d'Ovidio, but the only example of its occurrence which he found was that from "un antico testo forse fiorentino." Caix⁴ mentions "*die*, *dia*-no accanto a *dea*, forma del congiuntivo che in Guittone vale anche per l'indicativo," and again (p. 220) "in Barberino tanto *dea*, quanto *dia* e *dieno* occorrono più volte." The examples gathered from our texts show a more extended use of the forms than these quotations would indicate. For *die* there can be but one explanation; its Latin original was $\bar{D}\bar{E}BET$ and hence the tonic \bar{E} never diphthongized; the immediate predecessor of the present form was *dee*, and the hiatus position of e is the only cause which suggests itself for the raising of this e to i .—Similarly in the plural,

¹ None of the words thus far treated are covered by Meyer-Lübke's rule (*It. Gr.* § 96) since the beginning of the rule—"Im Hiatus steht für e "—implies that all words mentioned under it were either originally \bar{e} or $e < \check{i}$; in either case, he supposed an e -stage to have preceded any later change. The rule would even seem to imply that the \bar{i} in $*THIUM$ developed $*zeo$, then *zio*, as this example is found among those given under the rubric.

² *Arch. Glot. It.* IX, 35-37.

³ *Die Aussprache des Latein.* Heilbronn, 1885, p. 79.

⁴ *Origini*, p. 219, § 215.

apart from the variants of the ending *-ono*; as, *-ano* or *-eno*,¹ the change of *e* > *i* is due to hiatus position.² The form *di'* (= *dee*) as found in N in the construction *di'essere* might seem to have developed in pretonic position (in which position every *E* > *i*;³ as, *misúra* < *MENSÚRAM*, *sicúro* < *SECÚRUM*), and if *die* is understood to have thus developed, hiatus would not enter here into consideration. But the tendency for pretonic *E* to become *i* was a popular one, and if the *e* in *dee* had thus become *i*, the resultant form that would have been used most frequently and been preserved, would be *die*, not *dee*, just as we have *misura*, *sicuro* and many similar words with *i*, not *e*. The fact that *dee* has always been the more common form indicates, therefore, that *die* is not a development due to pretonic position, but that the word developed independently, the first *e* becoming *i* because of its hiatus position.

Dea, *stea* (< *dare*, *stare*) may have developed later into *dia*, *stia* through the closure of *e* > *i* in hiatus, but these words cannot be adduced as reliable examples of such a change, since it is probable that they became *dia*, *stia*, by analogy to *sia*;⁴ reciprocal influences of *DARE*, *STARE* and *ESSERE* forms constantly occur in the Romance languages.

a. Further proof of *e* > *i* in hiatus: conditionals in *-ria*.

We must here consider conditionals in *-ria* instead of *-rei*,⁵ the former being < the Infinitive with Imperfect of *avere*; the latter (*-rei*) offers nothing for consideration in connection with the present topic (of *e* being raised to *i* by hiatus). The successive stages of development of this *-ria* formation may be

¹ And in F *deuno* is found.

² *Dieno* is not to be supposed as analogical to forms like *sieno* or conditionals like *sarieno*, for in these cases the preceding stage was *siano*, *sariano*; the point to be noted in *dieno* is not the ending *-eno* but the fact that *e* > *i* before this ending, however the latter may have originated. (Cf. *Grundriss*, I, 540, § 94: Ist *ea ia* von einem konsonanten gefolgt, so entsteht daraus *ie* also *avia*, *avieno*, etc.)

³ Cf. Meyer-Lübke, *It. Gr.* § 123.

⁴ Cf. Meyer-Lübke, *It. Gr.*, § 461.

⁵ *Ibid.*, §§ 403, 404.

traced in our texts. First, in *L*, we find the Imperfect alone used for the Conditional (p. 203): “chesso dicea quelli ke fugera delabatallia non fugera dalicani, ke le sue carne *facia* alimastini mangiare;”—(p. 208): “el medico di Pirro venne a Fabritio celatamente e disseli ke selli livolea dare cotanto avere chelli *ucidea* Pirro.” The next step was *-rea*, which is found represented in the same text (*L*) in forms such as *mectare-a* (p. 200), *piacciere-a* (p. 202), *avere-a* (p. 211), *sire-a* (p. 212). The last stage was *-ria*. This form is found as follows:¹ A11, B77, C44, E29, K2, L9, N42, O12, P69, S24, T15, V74, X7, Y8, Z24, BB7, CC2, DD4, EE1, FF1, GG34, II6, LL8, SS21, TT5. Is this an example of hiatus *e* (*-rea*) raised to *i* (*-ria*)? If we accept the testimony of Castelvetro we must answer in the negative. In his work cited (p. 30) p. 190 he is discussing a number of words which, according to Bembo, Petrarch took from the Provençal, among them *havia*, *solia*, *credia*; of these he observes: “Niuno nega, che non sia uso della Provenza il dire *havia*, *solia*, *credia*, ma cio non basta a provar lo 'ntendimento del Bembo. Adunque bisognerebbe che egli potesse negare con verita, che fosse o fosse stato uso d'una buona parte d'Italia mai, & spetialmente della patria mia, nella quale non solo si dice *havia*, *solia*, *credia*, ma anchora *haviva*, *soliva*, *crediva*, donde e non di Provenza l'hanuo prese & il Petrarca & Dante & gli altri poeti Italiani.” If the Imperfect was in this form—*ia* (*-iva*)—at the time of its junction with the Infinitive to form the Conditional, there would be no further explanation necessary for the *-ria*.² But an observance of imperfects occurring in our texts shows that forms in *-ia* were exceptional; if the latter had been the prevalent form (instead of *-ea*) his explanation would have been accepted and numerous subsequent discussions avoided. Nor is it to be sup-

¹The numerals to the right of author mentioned refer, as usual, to the number of times this form occurs in the given author.

²And Castelvetro in his Conditional gives Infinitive with *-IBAM*, etc. Cf. *Modern Language Notes*, VII, 243: “Lebrija and the Romance Future Tense” (A. M. E.).

posed that *avea*, etc., when joined to the Infinitive, became *avia*, etc., by analogy to Imperfects of the fourth Conjugation (in *-ia*), for the number of verbs in the latter is too small, as compared with those in the other conjugations, to have exercised such an influence. D'Ovidio suggests¹ that *avera* being a "voce servile" when joined to the Infinitive might have undergone an alteration ($>$ (*av*)*ia*) which it did not suffer when used alone; in this connection it is to be remarked that the majority of words found under this form of the conditional (*-ria*) in our texts are words frequently used; such as, *saria*, *potria*, *avria*, *corria*, *dorria*, *anderia*, *faria*, *verria*, etc., which would support his suggestion; for, naturally, words most frequently used are the first to be affected by phonetic changes, and the change from *-rea* to *-ria* may have begun with these vocables. If we admit that the change thus took place, the cause of the variation is still a question; and until a better reason is offered the phenomenon may well be attributed to the raising of *e* to *i* by hiatus. Why then did not the *e* in the syncopated imperfects, such as *avea*, *dovea*, *facea*, *vedea*, etc., also become *i*? The following is offered as a possible explanation (which, as far as I know, has not hitherto been suggested) for this anomaly, and also helps to establish the probability of the raising of *e* to *i* in the Conditional: in searching for like developments where $e > i$, our attention is attracted to a certain set of words, now definitely fixed in form, which represent the lost stage of growth preceding the final development. These words had originally *e* + Vowel, but they now have *i* + Vowel, and for this reason their development may be compared with that of the Conditional (*-rea* $>$ *-ria*): *lione* (LEONEM), *niuno* (NEC + UNUM), *niente* (NEC + *ENTEM), and similar. Here the regular products are represented by *neiente* (B13, E1, F14), *beiendo* (N), *beiamo* (II), *leiale* (R), *Tarpeia* (P). Such variants [that is, those with an *i* between *e* and *o* (*u*)] do not occur for *lione*, *niuno*. Does this not show a difference

¹Arch. Glot. It., IX, 35.

between the quality of the *e* (*i*) before *o* and *u* and that of the *e* before *a* and *e*, or that there was an uncertainty in the latter case (evidenced by the writing *ei*) which was not felt in the former? If so, is not the following suggestion as to these words justifiable? Before *o* and *u* (*leone, neuno*) *e* passes directly to *i*, all traces of the intervening consonant (*e*) in the latter word being lost; before *a* and *e* uncertainty prevails as to the pronunciation before the adoption of the *i*; this uncertainty is represented by the writing of both vowels, *ei* (*neiente, leiale, beiamo*). Now where the intervening consonant definitely drops, the *e* brought before *e*, *a*, develops into *i* (*niente, liale*); where it sometimes disappears (*beamo*), again does not (*bevamo*), the consciousness of use of the consonant prevents the development of *e* > *i* in the cases where it is dropped [hence we have *beo* (*bevo*), *creo* (*credo*), *veo* (*veggio*), etc.].—Now, if we apply this to the development of the Imperfect (*aveva*) and the Conditional (*avria*), the *v* of the former is never forgotten, and a collection of comparative uses of *-eva* and *-ea* terminations in our texts shows the two side by side, no author employing the *-ea* to the exclusion of the *-eva* form. It was not to be expected that *e* in the latter (*-eva*) should develop *i*, the only case in which it might be expected to do so being when the *v* drops; but the *v* does not drop leaving *-ea* as the only form, so that even when *-ea* is used, the consciousness of the *-eva* is never absent from the mind of the speaker and prevents the development of *-ea* > *-ia* otherwise to be expected, since the speech-consciousness with reference to *-ea* was exactly the same as that of *-eva*. It is therefore no argument against this theory (namely, hiatus raises *e* > *i*) that *avea, dovea*, etc., do not develop *avia, doria*, etc. But if this *v* was present to prevent said change (*-ea* > *-ia*) in the Imperfect when used alone, the condition was altered when the same Imperfect, *avea*, was joined to the Infinitive to form the Conditional. No Tuscan text shows the form *dovreva*. A few dialects may show such forms,¹ but they

¹ Cf. *Grundriss*, I, 544, § 103: "Dialekte bewahren 1 Sg. noch rein: bresc. *bol. portareve*."

were at no time the rule, nor was it natural that they should be, for such a form was cumbersome and liable to reduction. It is not claimed, however, that such Conditionals (in *-ria*) originated in the Tuscan; whatever may be their source, the fact still remains that they are found in Tuscan only as *-rea* and *-ria*; whenever they were introduced they were subject to phonetic tendencies already existing in Tuscan, and the phonetic trend that may explain *-rea* > *-ria* is the raising of hiatus *e* to *i*; no traces of the (once) intervening *v* are preserved; our consciousness of its presence, if it existed, has been lost.—As a résumé we have: Conditionals in *-ria* are examples of the raising of hiatus *e* (*-rea*) to *i* (*-ria*); the difference between its development (> *ia*) and that of similar forms with an original intervening *v* (*-eva*, *-ero*, etc.) being, that in the Conditional the *v* was dropped early and definitely, in the other cases it has been preserved up to the present time. Even when it was dropped, the consciousness of its presence in the form allied to it (with *v*) prevented the usual hiatus development of *e* > *i*. The fact, therefore, that in our texts words which, for the most part, have preserved their *v* do sometimes (after the fall of the *v*) develop *e* > *i* is a strong proof of the phonetic tendency just noted; such words are *die* (= *dee* = *deve*) and imperfects like *credia*, *avia* (A), *volia* (J), *paria* (Purg. II, 18), *solia* (S), *tenia*, *rompia*, *paria* (T), *tenia*, *sapia* (X), *prendia*, *rendia*, *volia*, *avia* (DD), *avia*, *facia*, *credia*, *riprendia* (FF), *facia*, *dicia*, *avia* (GG), etc.; in these instances, in spite of the corresponding forms *aveva*, *credeva*, etc., *avea*, *credea*, etc., show the tendency to raise the *e* > *i* in hiatus and develop *avia*, *credia*, etc.

Our second question (Does hiatus cause *e* to become *i*) is, then, answered in the affirmative, except for the cases to be considered in our next question.

4. Does hiatus prevent the development of *E* > *ie*?

There is no doubt as to this development of *E* when found before *i*: *miei*, *riei*, *liei*, *costiei*, *siei* (ES), *diei* (DĒBES). The

last example (*diei*) which is < *dei* (from *DEBES*), with an original long *E*, seems to indicate that all *e*'s when brought before *i* could be treated as open and diphthongize. In the next following section of this essay the same phenomenon will be met with in respect to hiatus $\varnothing < \check{u}$, which diphthongizes before *i* (*noi* > *nuoi*, *soi* > *suoi*); it appears, therefore, that for the Italian no exception to hiatus rules need be made for these words, but examples show that in this language \varnothing and *e* are treated as \varnothing and *e* when before *i*.¹ Here, then, the Italian offers a divergence from the general rule for such vowels: "Des voyelles qui ne furent en contact qu' à la suite de lois phonétiques propres au latin vulgaire conservèrent la nuance en rapport avec leur ancienne quantité; ainsi on eut *ĪUS* de—*ĪVUS*, *SIAT* de *SĪT*, *ĒO* de *ĒGO*,"²—the divergence being that when an *i* directly follows *o* or *e* these vowels may become open, though they were originally long.

a. Does *MEUS* > *mieo*?

Is *e* before *a*, *e*, *o*, diphthongized as is the case before *i*? The Tuscan texts show no certain example of such procedure. D'Ovidio (l. c.) supposes diphthongization in these cases, and remarks that *io*, *mio*, *dio*, etc., are reductions from **ieo*, **mieo*, **dieo*, etc. As a confirmation of this supposition he finds several parallel cases; namely, *pria* < **priea* < *piera* < *pietra*; *arria* < **arriea* < *arrieri*; *bue* < *buoe* < *BŮVEM*. The first two examples are not taken from Tuscan texts, and it is to be questioned whether the last one is not analogical. In treating *mio*, *bue*, as reductions of **mieo*, **buoe*, it must be asked why the plural *miei*, *buoi* retained its full form and was not reduced to *mii*, *bui*; and if these two, *mii*, *bui* (which do occur), are such reductions, why was the full form also retained for the plural and only the re-

¹ Cf. p. 57.

² *Grammaire des Langues Romanes*, par W. Meyer-Lübke. Paris, 1890, I, 246, § 276.

duced form for the singular? No explanation for this fact has been offered, as far as I am aware, and no parallel phenomenon exists in the language. If **mieo*, **buoe* ever existed, the plurals *miei*, *buoi* would certainly have a tendency to keep them on account of similarity in form, just as *mii*, *dii*, *rii*, etc., are formed according to *mio*, *dio*, *rio*, etc. This crossing of forms is a strong principle in the language and has its weight in a discussion of the present question (of the existence of a **mieo*); for example, in the present tense of *essere*, we find *siete* built up according to *siei*; *siemo*, according to *siete*;¹ in the nouns, we find the plural *uomi* formed on *uomo*, and the singular *uomine* on *uomini*.² On this principle, then, of crossing or assimilation of singular and plural forms one expects *mii* formed on *mio* and such a form is found. On the other hand, one expects also **mieo* formed on *miei*. But the fact that no such form (**mieo*), if it ever existed, remained, although it had this principle of form association (similarity to *miei*) to preserve it, is strong evidence of the non-existence of **mieo* at any period of the Tuscan.

5. *Do the texts examined contain sufficient material for explanations of all forms studied without recourse to constructive forms?*

If the statement of the non-existence of a given form be characterized as untenable since the texts examined begin only with the middle of the thirteenth century leaving unrepresented the products of the language of the several preceding centuries when the language was in its formative state, it may be urged in reply: I believe it is better to accept the explanation of a given phenomenon with what proof for it may be found in existing products, than to cast about for uncertain explanations based on uncertain (constructive) forms. Besides, it is claimed in this essay that the language of the texts exam-

¹ Cf. Meyer-Lübke, *It. Gr.*, § 447.

² *Ibid.*, § 339.

ined contains sufficient material for the explanation of all the forms studied ; if this material agrees with that which probably existed in the postulated language of the three or four centuries preceding these texts, so much the better ; if not, it must be accepted as our norm until more is known regarding the possible developments of said postulated speech. It is a fact that where a number of varying forms of one and the same word has been found, it has been possible, for the most part, to establish a logical connection between these different forms, to discover which was the oldest, which the intermediate growth that preceded the final resultant form now found in the modern language. Thus, for the Conditional we have *area* -*avrea* -*avria*, for the explanation of which (*avria*) there is no need of an intermediate borrowed form ; in the next section I shall show that the texts indicate like conclusions for the second possessive pronoun, TUI -*toi* -*tuoi*, where the last form is the outgrowth of the first two ; similarly, in products where only two stages are represented it is reasonable to explain for the most part the second as the outgrowth of the first.

Applying these remarks to the case in hand, we find *eo*, *io* ; *meo*, *mio* ; *deo*, *dio* ; *reo*, *rio*—*mea*, *mia* ; *mee*, *mie*, etc., with no probable intermediate stage¹ to indicate that they ever existed as diphthongized forms in the Tuscan. Under our second question it was shown to be probable that hiatus can raise *e* > *i* ; we find here forms with *e*, again with *i*, and the conclusion naturally follows that these words also are illustrations of the principle of hiatus *e* > *i* ; thus understood, there is no necessity

¹The form *mie'* has been noted as occurring in the *Tavola Ritonda* in the expression *per mie' fè*, where it was supposed to be equivalent to an old **miea*. It is a curious fact that the same locution occurs several times in Cellini. Now it is not to be supposed that the latter had any idea of an old **miea* when he used *mie'*, for two hundred and fifty years had elapsed since the writing of the *Tavola* and the form had disappeared in the meantime. But there is a fact that may account for its use by both, without supposing it equivalent to **miea* ; that is, both were French imitations. Cellini often uses French expressions ; why these authors supposed this *mie'* (= *mia*) to be the Italian equivalent of the French possessive, however, is not apparent.

for supposing an intermediate **mieo*, or any similar constructive form. It was stated above that the Tuscan dislikes such a form as **mieo* (cf. p. 49). If the pronoun is supposed to have existed under this form, it constitutes an exception to the development to be expected, for the *E* in *MEUM* in Vulg. Lat. is long.¹ But if *mio* is taken as from *meo*, it agrees with the development of *dee* (*DĒBET*) > *die*, described above, and no exception need be made for it, nor for the similar *dio*, *rio*, etc.

The answer to the third question (Does hiatus prevent the development of *e* > *ie*) is represented in résumé by the following statement: When the *e* is before *i* it diphthongizes even if from an original *Ē*; but before *a*, *e*, *o*, the treatment is the same as that noted under 3 (p. 42), that is *e* > *i*.

6. Conclusions.

1. Latin *ī* and *ŷ* occurring in Tuscan in hiatus position are both retained; no example where the latter (*ŷ*) has given *ē* has been found in hiatus: **THĪUM* > *zio*; *PŷUM* > *pīo*.

2. *ē* and *ē̄* in Tuscan, before *i* give the same result, *-ie*, the *ē* being treated as *ē̄* in hiatus before this vowel (*i*); both are diphthongized: *DĒBES* > *dei* > *diei*; *MĒI* > *miei*.

3. *e* before the other vowels (*a*, *e*, *o*) is close and hence never diphthongizes, but is raised to *i* in hiatus: *dēe* > *die*; *meo* > *mīo*.

It was my original intention to give here all words in the language in which hiatus *e* or *i* occurs, in positions other than those considered above. Such has been done for hiatus *o* and *u* (cf. p. 65); but the number of these words amounts to nearly four thousand, and lack of space does not permit their being printed here. My plan was to arrange them according to the system followed for hiatus *u* and *o* (p. 65): those with *i* corresponding to the latter in *u*, those with *e* corresponding to

¹ Cf. Meyer-Lübke, *Gr. d. Langues Rom.*, I, § 276: "le singulier *MĒUS* se règle sur le pluriel *MĒI*."

the latter in *o*. As *u* + Vowel is the rule, so is *i* + Vowel in all positions, and the proportional relations of the two sets are—*e* + Vowel : *i* + Vowel = *o* + Vowel : *u* + Vowel. Words with *e* + Vowel are mostly “mots savants” or borrowed. The list of this set (*e* + Vowel) is swelled by numbers of terms that belong to special professions; as, medicine or law, or special sciences. These terms, of course, never underwent popular phonetic development.—Opportunity may offer to publish these lists at some time in the future.

B. TONIC Ů IN HIATUS; *tuo*; *tuoi*; *suo*; *suoi*.

1. Previous explanations.

Several explanations have been offered as to the development of *tuoi*, *suoi*. One is that quoted (p. 58) from Meyer-Lübke:¹ “*duoi* et *suoi* * * * * pourraient reposer sur *DUOS*, *SUOS*.” Phonetically this would be regular, according to the principle announced by d'Ovidio:² “Im Auslaute verstummt *s*, entwickelt aber nach betonten Vokalen ein *i*: *dai*, *assai*, *noi*, *poi*.” But there are two grave objections to *tuoi* < *TUOS*, *suoi* < *SUOS*. The first is, that to suppose the Italian forms derived from the Latin accusative is contrary to the law of preservation of the Latin accusative plural in other instances, notably in nouns. Cf. Meyer-Lübke:³ “Der Nominativ pluralis der ersten und zweiten lateinischen Deklination ist geblieben: *-e* kann nur auf

¹*Gr. d. Lang. Rom.*, I, § 276.

²*Grundriss*, I, 532, § 74. Cf. Meyer-Lübke, *It. Gr.*, § 270.

³*It. Gr.*, § 321. I have taken the liberty here of correcting this section as it reads in Meyer-Lübke's *Grammatik*; it stands there: “*-e* kann nur auf -*AE*, *-i* auf -*A* zurückgehen, da -*AS* zu *-e*, -*OS* zu *-o* geworden wäre.” “*-i* auf -*A*” is incorrect since the Nom. Plu. of the second Lat. Decl. in -*i* is referred to, and the meaning is evident: just as -*AE* (of the first Decl.) > *-e*, so -*i* (of the second Decl.) > *-i*; “da -*AS* zu *-e*” evidently does not express the author's meaning, for if -*AE* > *-e* and -*AS* > *-e* this would not show in itself whether the Acc. or Nom. of the Latin was preserved in Italian. But -*AS* > *-i* regularly; cf. *ibid.*, § 106, *AMAS* > *-es* > *-i*.

-AE, -i auf -I zurückgehen, da -AS zu *i*, -OS zu -o geworden wäre. In den andern Klassen sind Nominativ und Accusativ gleichlautend, kommen also nicht weiter in Betracht." TUUS, SUUS were declined according to the second Lat. Decl., and here, as with nouns, we expect the Latin Nominative Plural—TUI, SUI—to be preserved in Italian, and not the Accusative TUOS, SUOS.—Again, a fact points still more strongly against the derivation of *tuoi*, *suoi* from the Latin Accusative in that the possessive pronoun of the first person (*miei*) can come only from the Latin Nominative Plural MEI; MEUS was likewise declined according to the second Latin declension, and it would be inconsistent to maintain that MEI was preserved in one case, while TUOS, SUOS were kept in the other.—We have another objection in that the derivation of *tuoi*, *suoi* from TUOS, SUOS would make triphthongs of the Italian forms, the *i* < s counting as a syllable (cf. *assai*, *più*- PLUS). Rhymes gathered from any Italian poet would prove this to be impossible, since *tuoi*, *suoi* always count as two syllables, and, if they were triphthongs, they could not be made to rhyme with *noi*, *voi*, etc., which rhymes are of frequent occurrence. For example, in Cino da Pistoja, in the strophe preceding that quoted (p. 57) are the lines:

"In quelle parti, che furon già *suoi*,
Quando trova il Signor parlar di *voi*."

P. D. Bartoli observes with reference to *vuo'* = *vuoi*:¹ "Questo *vuo'* per *vuoi* cui non v'è chi contradica come mal accorciato, mi ricorda l'insegnarsi da alcuni *vuoi*, *suoi*, *tuoi*, *miei*, esser Trittonghi; il che se fosse, come potrebbero accorciarsi più de' Dittonghi, de' quali confessano non potersi? E pur tutto dî scriviamo, e bene, *tu vuo'*, *i suo'*, *a' mie'*. Oltre di ciò, se fosser trittonghi, non potrebbero farsi due sillabe come pur gli ha tante volte il Petrarca in rima con *noi*, *voi*, *poi*: e *miei* con *lei*, *dei*, *vorrei*.—Ben puo il verso restringere le lor due sillabe

¹ Dell' Ortografia Italiana. Roma, 1670, p. 101.

in una, ma senza pregiudicio del poterle usare ancora per quelle due sillabe che pur sono : e se due sillabe adunque non un trittongo."

A second explanation of *tuoi, suoi* is that given by Diez:¹ "Der diphthongierte plural *miei* weckte den Diphthong auch in *tuoi, suoi*, der eigentlich nicht regelrecht ist." Just above this he observes: "Die nach *mio* geformten *tio* und *sio* finden sich."—If the singular, formed on *mio*, is *tio, sio*, would not the plural formed on *miei* be similarly *tiei, siei*?

We have a third explanation by Körting:² "Abnorm sind die Pluralbildungen *tuoi, suoi*; vermuthlich sind sie aus Sg. *tuo, suo*, durch Anfügung eines *i* nach Analogie der substantivischen Plurale auf *-i* entstanden."—An analogy such as is here noted is impossible, since the plural of masculine substantives in *-o* is formed by replacing the *-o* by an *-i*. One does not decline *amico*—**amicoi*, but *amico*—*amici*. On the same principle a plural formed on the singular *tuo, suo*, would be *tui, sui*; the latter forms do occur and are possibly constructed in this way. Furthermore, if such an explanation as this were accepted, we should have to explain also why *mio* did not give **mioi* just as *tuo* > *tuoi*.

An explanation of *tuoi, suoi* which is based on a study of the history of hiatus *u* will now be attempted.

2. *Uses in texts consulted.*

We find in Latin *tŭi, sŭi*; in Italian *tui, sui*; *toi, soi*; *tuoi, suoi*. The first two (*tui, sui*; *toi, soi*) are used only sporadically, the last (*tuoi, suoi*) prevail as the regular developments from the Latin. If we consider the three different forms, what were the successive stages of development that culminated in *tuoi, suoi*?

In our texts we observe the following uses:³

¹ *Gram.* II⁴, 90.

² *Encyc.* III, 652.

³ *tuo', suo'*; *tuoe, suoe* are given above (p. 16).

tuoi, suoi: A, B, C, D, F, H, I, J, K, L, M, N, O, P, R, S, T, U, V, X, Y, Z, AA, BB, CC, DD, EE, FF, GG, II, LL, SS, TT.

tue, sue: B, C, F, G, H, I, J, K, M, N, O, P, T, V, X, Y, Z, AA, BB, CC, DD, EE, FF, GG, II, LL, SS, TT.

duoi: L, N, T, V, EE, GG, LL, OO.

due: B, F, G, H, I, J, K, M, N, O, T, V, X, BB, EE, GG, LL, SS.

soi: G, I, J, L, O, P, T, V, X, GG, NN.

toi: P, T, V, X, LL, MM.

doi: L, N, T, X, EE, LL, SS.

sui: C, K, N, O, P, V, X, FF, KK, NN, SS.

tui: P, V, FF, GG.

dui: I, N, T, V, X, Y, BB, KK, LL, SS.

muoi (= MÖVES): P.

puoi (= PÖTES): F, I, J, K, O, P, S, V, W, X, Z, CC, EE, FF, GG, LL, SS.

poi (= PÖST): G, J, K, P, T, V.

vuoi (= VÖLES): P, S, T, V, W, X, Z, BB, EE, FF, LL, SS.

buoi (= BÖVES): H, P, V, X, GG.

nuoi (= NÖS): P, V.

vuoi (= VÖS): P, EE, GG.

moi (= MÖVES): P.

poi (= PÖTES): P, T, V, X, II.

voi (= VÖLES): P, I, V, X, EE, GG, II, LL.

boi (= BÖVES): P, T, X.

nui (= NÖS): C, P, V, GG, LL, NN, SS.

vui (= VÖS): C, O, P, T, X, LL, NN, SS.

bui (= BÖVES): X, BB, KK.

toa, soa: P, T, X.

toe: V.

soe: T, V, X, GG.

doe: L, T.

3. *Development of toi, soi.*

The latter part of Meyer-Lübke's rule quoted (p. 32) is of no assistance here: "Ebenso haben wir nur *u* und *uo* bei den velaren Vokalen: *fui, cui, grue, due, tuo, tua, tuoi, bue, altrui*." —Caix observes: ¹ "ŭ (tonico) diviene *o* come nell' uso generale romanzo: *croce, giovane, sopra*. Ma grande divergenza è nei riflessi dei bisillabi *SUUS, TUUS, DUO, FUI*. Da una parte la tendenza al suono chiuso dà *tuo, due*,—in corrispondenza con *mio, dio*; dall'altra la preferenza pel suono aperto dà *to (toa), so (soa), doe, foi*,—in corrispondenza con *meo, deo, eo*. Dove cioè prevale la formula *e^v* si preferisce *o^v*, e dove prevale *i^v* si preferisce *u^v*. Anche qui è da avvertire che le due formule erano largamente diffuse, ma che la formula con *o* pare essere stata la più generale.—Ma nel siciliano, e nella gran maggioranza dei mss. toscani la formula con *u* è la sola in uso. Tantochè si dice, per la stessa tendenza non solo *suo, tuo, ecc.*, ma anche *bue* (= BÖVE)."

We thus have in *toi, soi* "la preferenza pel suono aperto." This phenomenon is encountered in Provençal,² where we know it is directly from *TUI, SUI*, for the oblique forms, *teus, seus* (< *TUOS, SUOS*) also exist.

As to how this *toi, soi* developed from *TUI, SUI*, a comparison with the corresponding forms in French may give us some light. Neumann remarks with reference to *o*:³ "Im Lateinischen existirt neben einander *NŌVUS* und *DÉNŪO* (aus *DÉNŌVO*) ersteres die betonte,—*NUO* in letzterem die in unbetontem Zustande entwickelte Form desselben Wortes. Auch für das Pron. poss. (*TUUM* und *SUUM*) wird es im Lat. zwei verschiedene Formen, je nachdem es betont oder unbetont war, gegeben haben. Nach dem Klass. Lat. Muster *NŌVUS*—*DÉNŪO* werden dieselben gewesen sein **TŌVUM, *SŌVUM, TUUM, SUUM*."⁴—This

¹ *Origini*, § 55.² *Grundriss*, I, 626, § 65.³ *Literaturblatt*, 1882, col. 468.⁴ Cf. Schwan, *Grammatik des Altfranzösischen*. 2te Aufl. Leipzig, 1893. §§ 21, 2; 33, 2 and 409, 3.

observation is made in explanation of the Old French *tuen*, *suen*, where the \ddot{o} before u (by fall of the v) $> \varphi$ and diphthongizes. Might not Italian *toi*, *soi* have similarly derived from $*T\ddot{O}VI$, $*S\ddot{O}VI$? A seeming corroboration of this supposition is the fact that in *T bovi* and *boi* exist side by side.

Whether it was through the medium of a $*tovi$, $*sovi$ or not, the development of $\ddot{u} > o$ in hiatus as well as before consonants is not difficult of comprehension, for the use of the two (u and o) by the early poets shows that there must have been a marked resemblance in the phonetic value of these vowels. On this point is the testimony of Celso Cittadini who observes in regard to $\ddot{u} > o$:¹ "Non essendo veramente u altro che un o , o si pur simigliantissimo ad esso, la onde appo i nostri antichi rimatori era fatto rimar con o , facendo, per caso, risponder *lui* a *voi*, *lume* a *nome*; e simili altri come in particolar leggiamo appo Dante Alighieri nel sonetto che incomincia 'L'anima mia:.'

"Dicendo: io voglio Amor ciò che tu *vuoi*,
E piange entro quell'hor, pregando *lui*." ²

E così nel sonetto 'Pietà e mercè' fa rimar: *colui: voi: poi*. E Guido Cavalcanti nella sua nobil Canzone d'Amore: *come: nome: costume*."—Similar rhymes may be found in GG, fo. h: *lui: fui: suoi*.

4. φ before $i > \varphi$ and diphthongizes.

Were *tuoi*, *suoi* developed directly from *toi*, *soi*? The examples, as given above, go to show this to be the case. Such a statement, of course, seems directly contrary to acknowledged hiatus laws, because in *tōi*, *sōi* the o is close and as such could not diphthongize, and Meyer-Lübke³ regards this vowel development as an exception, since after giving the law $[Ė + i >$

¹ *Origini della volgar Toscana favella*. Siena, 1604, p. 16.

² I had noted the same example in C, where it is placed among the rhymes of Cino da Pistoja.

³ *Gr. d. Lang. Rom.* I, § 276.

ϵ , $+A > \epsilon$; $\check{o} + u > \varphi$, $+A$, $i > \varphi$ (y)] he observes: "Mais ces lois ont été troublées déjà dans le Latin vulgaire: le singulier MEUS se règle sur le pluriel MEI, et le pluriel SUI sur le singulier SUI." From this remark one might suppose that the writer holds *suoi* to be $< soi$, but he evidently does not consider the form thus developed, since (l. c. § 279) he remarks: "Nous avons pour y du latin vulgaire DŪAS, SŪAS, ital. *due*, *sua*; *duoi* et *suoi* sont douteux puisqu'ils pourraient reposer sur DUOS, SUOS." But this exception for *toi*, *soi* does not cover all the words which we have noted with *uo* before *i*, notably *nuoi*, *vuoi* ($= noi$, $voi = n\ddot{o}s$, $v\ddot{o}s$); and the fact seems to be that when φ occurs before *i*, whether after the fall of a v (*TOVI, *SOVI) or not (*noi*, *voi*), it becomes open and diphthongizes.¹ A safer statement than this one would be: *nuoi* and *vuoi* are exceptional forms, and, after accepting the explanation of the φ in *soi* as given above, we have all words in this category with an φ ,—*soi*, *toi* (analogically); *poi* (PÖTES), *poi* (PÖST), *voi* (VÖLES), *böi* (böves) have original φ ; nothing, therefore, hinders here the diphthongization. Perhaps the writers who used *nuoi*, *vuoi*, employed them along with *noi*, *voi*, just as they did *toi*, *tuoi*; *soi*, *suoi*. While such explanations of the irregularity ($-\varphi > -uo$) may be safer, yet it is claimed in this monograph that there is sufficient evidence to make it very probable that φ and ϵ before *i* diphthongize regularly.

5. Influence of v element.

What part did v play in the development of the words indicated; and where $o + v + i$ occurred, did the o diphthongize before or after the fall of the v ? On this point evidence seems to be contradictory. D'Ovidio observes:² "Auch im Hiatt blieb der betonte Vokal nicht unverändert. Die Vergleichung mit anderen romanischen Sprachen und ital. Dialekten lehrt,

¹ Cf. above p. 48, where the example of *diei* ($= dei = d\ddot{e}bes$) seems to indicate that ϵ also (before *i*) becomes open and diphthongizes.

² *Grundriss*, I, 525, § 52.

das *mio*, *bue* einst *MIEO, *BUOE lauteten. Jene schon vulgärlateinischen *MIEO, *BUOE erlitten nun die verschiedensten Schicksale; bald wurden beide vereinfacht, wie im Toskanischen, jedoch nur im Singular."

Did not the *-uo* develop from BÖVE > *BUOVE > *BUOE > *bue*? To suppose that the *v* fell and the *o* > *u* on account of hiatus would be contrary to what we find in Old French *buef*, Spanish *buey*, Provençal *buous*. Similarly in the plural, Was not the development BÖVES > *bovi* > *buovi* > *buoi*? Such a form, *buovi*, is recorded.¹ If the *v* fell before this development of *-o* (> *-uo*), the latter (according to hiatus law quoted above, p. 58) would become *o*, and we would not expect it to diphthongize. But on the supposition that the diphthongization of *noi*, *vöi* > *nuoi*, *vuoi* is original (not analogical to *tuoi*, *suoi*), there is no reason why *boi* should not have a similar development.

If now a *v*-stage may be supposed for all the words under consideration the *toi*, *soi*, *boi* can be treated as further reductions: thus *TÖVI > *TUOVI > *tuoi* > *toi* (and *soi*, *boi* in like manner). But this supposition is untenable; the word *puoi* < *poi* < PÖST shows the contrary to be the case; there is no possibility that any phonetic element was ever introduced between the *o* and *i* here; the *o* = original *o*. Of the two forms *poi* and *puoi* there is no question as to the *poi* being the original one and this seems to point to a similar development of *tuoi*, *suoi* < *toi*, *soi* (not < *TUOVI, *SUOVI).² The conclusion, then, as to *v* is: There is evidence of the development of *ö* > *uo* before *v* and that the *v* afterward fell (*buovi* > *buoi*); but, taking this word, the form *boi* cannot be supposed as a further reduction from *buoi* because a comparison with *puoi* < *poi* < PÖST, where *poi* is the immediate background of *puoi*, shows that *boi* also probably preceded *buoi*. Again: *buovi* occurs³ and cannot be

¹ *Zeitschrift für Rom. Phil.*, IX, 542.

² In FF, p. 125, is found *suoli* (SÖLES); in BB, pp. 34 and 60, occurs *toi* (TÖLLES)—these forms are mentioned for comparison.

³ Cf. in P *voli* (VÖLES) Inf. XXIX, 34; *suoli* (SÖLES) Inf. IV, 6; *duoli* (DÖLES) Inf. XXI, 44.

disregarded ; we must, then, if we maintain the priority of *boi* and acknowledging *buovi*, admit a parallel development of two forms from the Latin, both resulting in the same product (*buoi*) in Italian. Thus $\text{BÖVES} > b\text{övi} > \left. \begin{matrix} \text{buovi} \\ \text{boi} \end{matrix} \right\} > \text{buoi}.$

6. *o* before *a*, *e*, *o* > *u*.

How does the development of the singular *bue* compare with that of the plural just described ? Is the process here: $\text{BÖVEM} > \text{bove} < \left. \begin{matrix} *b\text{uove} \\ \text{boe} \end{matrix} \right\} > \left. \begin{matrix} *b\text{uoe} \\ (\text{boe}) \end{matrix} \right\} > \text{bue}?$ Another question arises here : Does *o* before *e* diphthongize ($\text{boe} > *b\text{uoe}$) after the fall of the *v* (both forms $*b\text{uoe} < *b\text{uove}$ and $*b\text{uoe} < \text{boe}$ being reduced afterward to *bue*), or is the *o* raised to *u* by hiatus before *e*? This is difficult to answer from the fact that examples of *buove* and *boe* have not been found.¹ But there is no reason why *böve* should not have given $*b\text{uove} > *b\text{uoe} > \text{bue}$, so that we have to consider only $\text{bue} < \text{boe}$. From a comparison with words of similar development we observe the following : *boa*, *canoa*, *eroe* have kept *o* ; *bua*, *prua* have developed $o > u$. *Boa* is a zoölogical term ; *canoa* is spoken of by Scheler² as follows : " Les mots esp. et it. *canoa*, angl. *canoe* sont tirés de *cándoa* de la langue des Caraïbes ; " *eroe* is < *HERŌEM* ; *bua* is < *BŌO* — *ĀRE* ;³ *prua* is < **PRŌDĀM*.⁴ The appropriate form here is *bua* < *BŌ*-, and it furnishes a parallel for the raising of *o* > *u* in hiatus. For $\text{boe} > *b\text{uoe}$ there is no parallel. Examples of *tuoe*, *suoe* have been given above,⁵ but they are easily explained as analogous to the masculine *tuoi*, *suoi* ; that is, a full feminine form *tuoe*, *suoe* was constructed to correspond to the masculine

¹ *bue* occurs in T, X, GG, II, LL ; *bove* in T, X ; *bo* in LL (p. 184 : che come il *bo* la notte voi facciate).

² *Dict. d'Et. Fr.*, p. 86 : *canot*.

³ Körting, *Lateinisch-romanisches Wörterbuch*. Paderborn, 1891. col. 127, no. 1288.

⁴ And is Genoese. Meyer-Lübke, *It. Gr.*, p. 42, § 59.

⁵ Cf. p. 16.

tuoi, suoi. For the singular, therefore, as for the plural, *bue* may be the result of two forms, **buoe* or *boe*; $b\varphi e > \begin{matrix} *buove \\ boe \end{matrix} \} > \begin{matrix} *buoe \\ (boe) \end{matrix} \} > bue.^1$

The final application of this example to the development of *tuoi, suoi* is as follows: First, it shows the varying treatment of *o* according as it occurs before *i* or *e*, giving *-uo* (*buoi*) in the first case, being raised to *u* (*bue*) in the second; secondly, it shows that *toi, soi* must have preceded *tuoi, suoi*, just as *boi, poi* preceded *buoi, puoi*; the form *puoi* < *poi* < *PÖST* where no product like **puovi* is possible, shows that the development of *tuoi* < *toi* and of *suoi* < *soi* may be independent of **TÖVI*, **SÖVI*; the non-occurrence of *tuovi, suovi* indicates the same thing. The development of *noi, voi* > *nuoi, vuoi* from a close vowel (*o*) evidences a strong tendency to diphthongization when *o* occurred before *i*, so that the preferable development of *tuoi, suoi* would seem to be: *TŮI* > *tōi* > *tuoi*; *SŮI* > *sōi* > *suoi*. The forms *toi, soi* as existing to-day in dialects of North Italy have morphologically a close *o*, whether they come directly from *TŮI*, *SŮI*, or from **TÖVI*, **SÖVI*,² so that for their further development into *-uo* in Tuscan it may be necessary to accept the exception noted above (p. 58) "le pluriel *sōi* se règle sur le singulier *sous*."

a. *tui, bui, nui*, etc.

All of this points very clearly toward *TŮI* > *toi* > *tuoi*, and this development destroys the likelihood that *toi* is a reduction of *tuoi*, a suggestion by d'Ovidio: ³ "il *toi, soi* in quanto si trovi in testi italiani, di qualunque regione, è proprio certo che metta capo a *TUI*, o non piuttosto a *tuoi TUOS*?" The forms *poi*—

¹ In *N* (p. 2) occurs *là due* (= *là dove*). Here the process was probably *dove* > *doe* > *due*.

² For in the latter case, after the fall of the *v*, the *ö* > *o*. Cf. Hiatus law, p. 58.

³ *Archiv. Glot. Ital.*, 1X, 44, note 1.

puoi cited above show which was the original; also according to the development¹ of **buoe* > *bue*, a reduced form of *tuoi* would be *tui*. This leads to the question as to what these forms, *tui*, *sui*, *dui*, *nui*, *vui*, *bui*, are. The quotation cited from Zehle (p. 29) was to the effect that *tui*, *sui* are Latinisms in Dante; again a suggestion has been made that they are plurals formed on the singular *tuo*, *suo* by changing -o > -i, the usual manner of forming plurals of substantives in -o (p. 54). D'Ovidio remarks:² "In *tui*, *sui*, acc. a *tuoi*, *suoi* = ΤΥΟΣ, ΣΥΟΣ, non so se s'abbiano a vedere degli assottigliamenti fonetici, o delle continuazioni popolari delle forme nominativi latine, o meri latinismi, o mere formazioni fatte sul sing. *tuo*, ecc., com' è *mii*." The six words just mentioned (*tui*, *sui*, *nui*, *bui*, *vui*, *dui*) have been treated under other forms (as *toi*, *tuoi*, *voi*, *vuoi*, etc.) as parallels in development; this would indicate that in their treatment under this form (-*ui*) all should in like manner be classed together, and if they are thus considered, no one of the explanations suggested up to the present time will account for all these forms, but only for *tui*, *sui*, *dui*. *Nui*, *vui*, *bui* cannot be latinisms, they cannot be plurals formed on a singular **nuo*, **vuo*, **buo*; it is hardly probable that by a phonetic reduction from *tuoi*, etc., the unaccented vowel *u* should have been preserved, nor would this explain *nui*, *vui*, since *nuoi*, *vuoi* are rare forms. Granted the explanation as noted below for such products, they all fall under a like treatment and also agree with the development of their fuller forms, *tuoi*, etc. According to the law for hiatus (cf. p. 58), $\ddot{o} + i > \text{ø}$ or *u*; in looking upon the *u* in *tui*, *bui*, etc., as a variation of ø [*Tŭi* > *tøi* (*tui*)], we have a logical explanation for the whole set. What renders this still more probable is the fact, that words with an original ø —*pøi* (PÖST), *pøi*, (PÖTES), *vøi* (VÖLES)—do not occur under the forms *pui*, *vui*. (Excepting an isolated example of *piue* in FF, p. 98; and *pui* occurs in C a few times for the sake of rhyme).

¹ Which was suggested by d'Ovidio, cf. p. 59.

² *Arch. Glot. It.*, ix, 40, note 2.

As a result of the preceding discussion it appears that the three forms—*tui*, *toi*, *tuoi*—are to be explained as follows: *tui* is not a latinism, nor a reduction < *tuoi*, nor formed on the singular *tuo*, but a variant of *toi*;—*toi* is not a reduction of *tuoi*, but from TŮI directly or through the medium of *TÖVI, in either case with an *o*;—*tuoi* is not < *TUOS*, but < *toi*, TŮI. The differentiation of the Italian from the other Romance Languages consists in the development of this *o* > *uo* before *i*, for by the side of words for which analogy can be found (*soi* : *sous*) exist *noi*, *vōi* > *nuoi*, *vuoi* with no such supposable analogy. All the forms: *toi*, *soi*, *doi*, *boi* were originally with *o*, for the *u* in the variant *tui*, etc., could not be from an *o*. Either *nuoi*, *vuoi* must be analogous to *tuoi*, *suoi*, or words like *pōi*, *vōi*, PÖST, VÖLES with an original *o* must have influenced other words in *-oi* because of the similarity in form of *pōi*, *vōi*, etc., with the words in *-oi* (*tōi*, *sōi*, etc.), so that all were diphthongized alike; this seems the preferable explanation, if it is not considered that *o* may become *o* before *i* and then diphthongize.

b. *tuo*, *suo*; *tue*, *sue*, etc.

The feminine forms *toe*, *soe*, *doe*, etc., have a development parallel, up to a certain point, with that of the masculines; that is, they may be taken as directly from TŮAE, or from *TÖVAE.¹ Out of *toe*, etc., develops *tue*,² etc., just as *bue* is < *boe*.—Similarly in the singular *too*, *toa*; *soo*, *soa* first developed < *TÖVUM, *TÖVAM; *SÖVUM, *SÖVAM;³ then the *o* in *too*, *toa*; *soo*, *soa* was raised to *u* by hiatus before *o* and *a* and the forms became *tuo*, *tua*; *suo*, *sua*. Or *too*, *toa*; *soo*, *soa* came directly from TŮUM, TŮAM; SŮUM, SŮAM, which is more probable, it having been shown (p. 61) that a *v*-stage is unnecessary.

¹ For *AE* > *e*, cf. Meyer-Lübke, *It. Gr.* § 106: "AE [atonic] wird *e*: *le* aus ILLAE, etc."

² Or one might easily see here a feminine plural formed on the singular *tua*.

³ Cf. *Ci estomazia*, p. 126, line 234, where one Ms. reads *sovo filio*, another *suo*.

C. TONIC Ū IN HIATUS.

Having thus disposed of hiatus ŭ, it is not difficult to formulate a law for the words in which ū occurs, for these (as well as those with ŭ) are few; their occurrence in the list of texts examined proves that, for the Tuscan, ū in hiatus remains *u*: *cui*, *fui*, *lui*, *costui*, *grua*.¹ These words never give in Tuscan *coi*,² *foi*, *loi*, *costoi*, *groa*; such forms are avoided, for instance in C (p. 28) occur the rhymes *altrui*: *lui*: *vui*: *pui*; p. 74, *vui*: *altrui*: *sui*: *fui*; p. 116, *colui*: *vui*: *lui*: *sui*; p. 119, *pui*: *lui*, where original *voi*, *poi*, *soi* are changed to *vui*, *pui*, *sui* in order to rhyme with *fui*, *lui*, instead of changing the latter to **foi*, **loi* to rhyme with *voi*, *poi*, *soi*, which indicates a strong tendency to preserve the ū.

Conclusions.

From all the discussion given above the following points may be postulated:

1. All words with tonic *o* + *i* diphthongize (*soi* > *suoi*); *noi* > *nuoi*, etc.); other forms (*lui*, *fui*, *cui*, etc.) do not diphthongize; therefore, before diphthongization takes place, an *o*-stage is to be supposed. This *o*-stage (*toi*, *soi*, etc.) appears in Tuscan; it is a logical explanation, therefore, to derive *tuoi*, *suoi*, etc., from it.

2. There must be reason why other words (*lui*, *fui*, etc.) do not pass through this *o*-stage; this cause is attributed to the

¹ Perhaps also *fui* FRŪCTUS should be mentioned here; it occurs in P, Par. XIX, 1, rhyming with *cui*: *lui*.—One exception to the rule just given is found; in FF occurs *fuoi*: p. 118: non so sì *fuoi* portato o s'io sognai; p. 127: io *fuoi* falconier del re; p. 127: di Capouana *fuoi*; p. 129: i' *fuoi* Sanese; p. 130: i' *fuoi* quel Baldassare; p. 131: i' *fuoi* bon soldata, etc., pp. 133, 135, 136, 138, 145, 161. But *foi* does not occur here or elsewhere, and *fuoi* must be considered as analogical to *vuoi* (VOLES), *puoi* (POTES), which are of frequent occurrence in this author.

² Does this not prove, so far as Italian can show, that *u* in *cui* is long? cf. Körting, *Wtb.* no. 6570.

varying quantity of the original Latin vowel, it being long in *lui*, *fui*, etc. Hence, in Tuscan, Latin *ū* in hiatus remains unchanged.

3. Latin *ū* for hiatus position develops in Tuscan into *o*, just as it does in other positions: *TŪAM* > *toa*; *TŪI* > *toi*, etc. Both this *o* < *ū* and original *o* (*noi* *nōs*) before *i* may diphthongize, since, in Tuscan, *e* and *o* are treated as *e* and *o* before this vowel (*i*). If such a development (*o* > *uo*) is looked upon as doubtful, *toi*, *soi*, etc., may be considered to have developed by analogy to *pōi* < *PŌST*, *vōi* > *VŌLES*, etc., words exactly similar in form and with original *o*; the analogy having worked, all alike give *-uo*: *puoi*, *vuoi*, *tuoi*, *suoi*.

Before *a* (*tua*), *e* (*tue*, *bue* < *boe*), *o* (*tuo*), *o* is raised to *u*.

The following lists show the relative proportion in the use of hiatus *u* or *o* in words not treated in the preceding pages. *a* indicates any vowel. The dash (—) is used to indicate syllables that follow or precede the accent.

<i>ná</i> —		
<i>abituale</i>	<i>babbuino</i>	<i>contribuire</i>
<i>abituare</i>	<i>ba'uardo</i>	<i>conrentuale</i>
<i>accentuale</i>	<i>belzuino</i>	<i>cuccuino</i>
<i>accentuare</i>	<i>bezzuarro</i>	<i>defluire</i>
<i>adduare</i>	<i>bruire</i>	<i>deostruire</i>
<i>affettuare</i>	<i>buaccio</i>	<i>destituire</i>
<i>affettuoso</i>	<i>buessa</i>	<i>destruente</i>
<i>affituale</i>	<i>buino</i>	<i>diluire</i>
<i>affluenza</i>	<i>casuale</i>	<i>diminuire</i>
<i>affluire</i>	<i>censuale</i>	<i>distribuire</i>
<i>aggraduirsi</i>	<i>censuato</i>	<i>duale</i>
<i>alituoso</i>	<i>circonfuenza</i>	<i>duello</i>
<i>amminuire</i>	<i>circuire</i>	<i>duino</i>
<i>annuale</i>	<i>confluente</i>	<i>ecceutare</i>
<i>annuire</i>	<i>confluenza</i>	<i>effetuale</i>
<i>attenuare</i>	<i>congruente</i>	<i>effetuare</i>
<i>attuale</i>	<i>congruenza</i>	<i>estenuare</i>
<i>attuare</i>	<i>constituire</i>	<i>evacuare</i>
	<i>construire</i>	<i>eventuale</i>

fluire
 fluttuare
 fruire
 fruttuare
 fruttuoso
 genuino
 gesuita
 graduare
 graduire
 graduale
 gratuire
 gruale
 gruino
 imbuire
 impetuoso
 importuoso
 incestuare
 incestuoso
 incruento
 individuale
 individuare
 induare
 infatuare
 influenza
 influire
 insinuare
 istituire
 instruire
 intellettuale
 intuire
 intuarsì
 irruenza
 luttuoso
 manuale
 menstruale
 mensuale
 minuale
 minuire
 montuoso
 mutante
 ostruire
 perpetuale
 perpetuare
 perpetuanza
 prostituire

proventuale
 pruina
 puntuale
 quattriduano
 questuare
 residuare
 residuale
 restituire
 retribuire
 rituale
 ruina
 ruire
 sensuale
 sinuoso
 situare
 sentuoso
 sostituire
 spirituale
 statuare
 statuale
 statolino
 statuetta
 statunista
 statuire
 stenuare
 strettuale
 sribuire
 suino
 suismo
 taccuino
 tatuaggio
 tatuarsi
 testuale
 tortuoso
 triduano
 tumultuare
 tumultuoso
 untuoso
 vacuare
 vacuetto
 virtuale
 virtuoso
 visuale
 volutuoso

oá —

benzoato
 benzoina
 boaro
 boato
 doana
 eroessa
 eroina
 eroismo
 gioire
 incoata
 moine
 oboista
 piroetta
 poema
 poeta
 proaro
 roano
 soatto
 strettoio

ua —

abitudine
 accorare
 annualmente
 arduamente
 assiduamente
 attualmente
 buacciolo
 casualmente
 congruamente
 diminimento
 distribuire
 druidessa
 dualismo
 duellare
 eccettativo
 effettivamente
 estenuativo
 flutare
 gesuitajo
 gesuitare
 gesuitessa

gradualmente
illuare
individualismo
individualmente
influitore
intellettualmente
intuitivo
manualmente
meliftuamente
mutuamente
perpetualmente
pituitoso
precipualmente
pruinoso
puntualmente
restituimento
restribuimento
ritualismo
ritualista
ritualmente
ruinare
sensualismo
sensualista
sensualmente
sostitutore
spiritualismo
spiritualista
spiritualmente
statualmente
stenuativo
strenuamente
superfluamente
tenuemente
virtualmente

oa — ' —

boarina
coitaso
concoideale
conoideale
convitoso
emorroidale
epizoozia
incoativo

ineroicare
introitare
ioideo
mastoido
metalloidale
morroidale
ortoe pia
poemetto
poesia
poetare
poetire
poetino
romboidale
salamojare
sojare
stoicismo
tifoideo

ua — ' —

affettuosamente
attenuazione
attualitate
attuazione
circuizione
duellatore
eccettuazione
effettuazione
effettuosamente
estenuazione
fluttuazione
fortuitamente
fruizione
graduatamente
graduazione
impetuosamente
incestuosamente
individuazione
insinuazione
intuizione
luttuosamente
menstruazione
mostruosamente
mutuazione
puntuazione

questuazione
situazione
suntuosamente
spiritualizzare
stenuazione
tortuosamente
tumultuosamente
vacuazione
voluttuosamente

oa — ' —

alcoolizzare
eroicamente
eroicizzare
moimeria
moiniere
poetizzare
proemiale
proemiare
proemizzare
stoicamente

uá — —

affetuevole
affittuario
annuario
attuario
buaggine
censuario
diminuibile
druidico
eletuario
gesuitico
insinuabile
pecuaria
residuario
santuarial
statuarial
tumultuario
usufruttuario
usuario
voluttuario

<i>aloetico</i>	<i>androide</i>	<i>schifanoja</i>
<i>doario</i>	<i>aracnoide</i>	<i>schizzatojo</i>
<i>noetico</i>	<i>asteroide</i>	<i>scoecatojo</i>
<i>poetico</i>	<i>astroite</i>	<i>scolatojo</i>
<i>proavolo</i>	<i>benzoico</i>	<i>scorcitojo</i>
<i>proemio</i>	<i>cissoide</i>	<i>scorificatojo</i>
<i>zedoaria</i>	<i>coito</i>	<i>scorsojo</i>
	<i>cometoide</i>	<i>scorticatojo</i>
	<i>concoide</i>	<i>scotitojo</i>
	<i>conoide</i>	<i>scrittojo</i>
	<i>cotiloide</i>	<i>seccatojo</i>
	<i>emorroidi</i>	<i>segnatojo</i>
	<i>eroico</i>	<i>serbatojo</i>
	<i>eroide</i>	<i>sferratoja</i>
	<i>introito</i>	<i>soja</i>
	<i>ioide</i>	<i>sonatojo</i>
	<i>jaloide</i>	<i>spanditojo</i>
	<i>lombricoide</i>	<i>spazzatojo</i>
	<i>metalloide</i>	<i>spegnitojo</i>
	<i>morroidi</i>	<i>spianatojo</i>
	<i>oasi</i>	<i>spicciatojo</i>
	<i>odontoide</i>	<i>spogliatojo</i>
	<i>romboide</i>	<i>stoja</i>
	<i>sesamoide</i>	<i>squartatojo</i>
	<i>sferoide</i>	<i>stenditojo</i>
	<i>stoico</i>	<i>strettoja</i>
	<i>trapezoide</i>	<i>strozattojo</i>
	<i>zolo</i>	<i>svegliatojo</i>
		<i>svenatojo</i>
	<i>addirizzatojo</i>	<i>svernatojo</i>
	<i>beveratojo</i>	<i>tagliatojo</i>
	<i>pastoja</i>	<i>temperatojo</i>
	<i>pensatojo</i>	<i>tenitojo</i>
	<i>riserbatojo</i>	<i>tettoja</i>
	<i>ritenitojo</i>	<i>tiratojo</i>
	<i>salamoja</i>	<i>toccatojo</i>
	<i>saldatojo</i>	<i>torcitojo</i>
	<i>salitojo</i>	<i>trapanatojo</i>
	<i>scaldatojo</i>	<i>trebbiatojo</i>
	<i>scalzatojo</i>	<i>ucellatojo</i>
	<i>scannatojo</i>	<i>varatojo</i>
	<i>scappatoja</i>	<i>vassojo</i>
	<i>scaricatojo</i>	<i>volgitojo</i>
	<i>scattatojo</i>	<i>voltojo</i>

$\frac{1}{-}$ ua	vacuo	$\frac{1}{-}$ oa	impetuosità
annuo			importuosità
arduo	alcool		individualità
assiduo	aloe		intellettualità
congruo	protonoe		manualità
cospicuo			montuosità
fatuo		ua $\frac{1}{-}$	mostruosità
individuo			perpetualità
ingenuo	arduità		promiscuosità
lituo	assiduità		puntualità
mellituo	congruità		sensualità
menstruo	cospicuità		sinuosità
nottua	fatuità		sontuosità
perpetuo	gratuità		spiritualità
perspicuo	ingenuità		tortuosità
precipuo	perpetuità		untuosità
proficuo	perspicuità		ventuosità
promiscuo	strenuità		virtualità
questua	tenuità		voluttuosità
residuo	vacuità		
sperpetua	veduità		ua — — $\frac{1}{-}$
statua			insinuabilità
strenuo		ua — $\frac{1}{-}$	
superfluo			— oé
tenuo	casualità		
tonitruo	dualità		evoe
treguo	eventualità		oboe
triduo	fruttuosità		siloe.

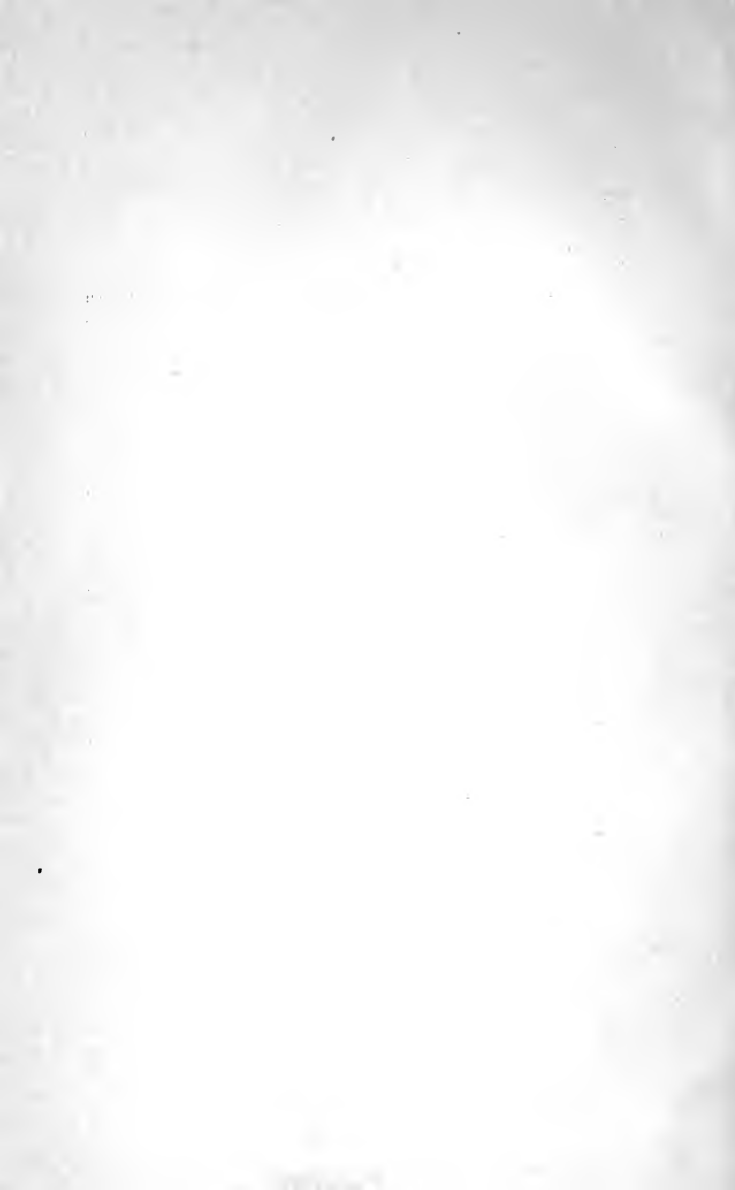
LIFE.

I was born in Clinton, Miss., June 29, 1871. I was graduated from Mississippi College with the degree of A. B. in June, 1888. The two following years I was Instructor in Latin and German in the Mary Le Grande Institute (female) of Vicksburg. In October, 1890, I entered the Johns Hopkins University, choosing for my major subject the Romance Languages. I followed the lectures of Professor A. Marshall Elliott, Doctor H. A. Todd, and Doctor F. M. Warren. To Professor Elliott I shall always feel indebted for his unvarying kindness and accessibility; especially do I now appreciate my first year's work with him, when he united the skill of an experienced instructor with the kindly solicitude of a friend. As a minor subject I studied History under the instruction of Professor H. B. Adams; my examination in this subject was on the Renaissance in Italy. The Summer of 1891 I spent in the French quarter of New Orleans, La., to acquire a speaking knowledge of the French language; I there pursued a course of private lessons in French with Professor Alcée Fortier, of the Tulane University. The last two years of my course I was under the instruction of Professor Elliott and Doctor John Ernst Matzke. It is a pleasure to record the interest which Doctor Matzke has never failed to manifest in my work. May to October of 1892 I spent in Paris, engaged in studies in Modern French and in the preparation of my thesis (cf. p. 3). I spent two weeks also in London, examining in the British Museum the Ms. of an old French poem connected with the work of the Romance Seminary. Since June, 1892, I have held a Fellowship in the Romance Department at the Johns Hopkins University.

LOUIS EMIL MENDER.

BALTIMORE, MARYLAND,

May 1, 1893.







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